Higher education and peacebuilding:

A comparative case study of peace and conflict studies programs in Kenyan universities

A Dissertation

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to educators who are committed to support the positive and transformative role of education to pursue peace and social justice. I also dedicate this work to a great scholar, mentor and human being, Dr. Frances Vavrus whose diligence, care and support has taught me what it means to be human. Lastly, I dedicate this work to my dear wife, Mary Kuloba and our children Kyle Sikenyi and Amani Sikenyi for making my dreams a reality.

Abstract

This study aimed to understand the role of higher education and peacebuilding in Kenya. In particular, the study explored how university administrators, faculty, students and national officials understand peace, and how university-level peace and conflict studies programs were designed and implemented for peacebuilding in Kenya. The study entailed a year-long period of fieldwork that focused on two Kenyan universities, Amani University and Umoja University[1], and their PCS programs. It was structured as a comparative case study utilizing semi-structured interviewing, document review and participant observations. The primary findings of this study are as follows: First, participants viewed higher education institutions (universities) as critical actors in the consolidation of peace, and peace and conflict studies (PCS) programs as critical for peacebuilding. However, participants also viewed universities as enablers of ethnic divisions and a culture of violence, a problematic role which participants felt needed to be addressed in order to generate meaningful efforts of peacebuilding through higher education. Secondly, participants understood peace as an outcome of the practice of *uwazi* and *undugu*, sustainable development, freedom from corruption, ethnic inclusivity and cohesiveness, absence of physical violence, good leadership and dialogue and reconciliation. I argue that these participants' constructions of peace, reflected their tacit knowledge, aspirations and lived experiences of conflict and peace that were particular to Kenya and therefore constituted a peace knowledge. Thirdly, faculty utilized peace knowledge and critical pedagogy to design PCS curricula and drew on local knowledge and resources to develop students' knowledge, skills and agency for peace and justice. Additionally, students' perspectives revealed transformative experiences in PCS programs. These formations of new perspectives and awareness of peace illustrate the transformative element of a university learning experience and confirmed the critical role of university actors and programs in shaping actions and values for peace and sustainability.

This study contributes to understandings of peace and the role of education in peacebuilding. It reveals the relational nature of peace, particularly the role of individual lived experiences as well as context-level factors in shaping perspectives on peace and conflict which differ from one region to another. Subsequently, findings of this research illustrate limitations and promises of higher education institutions (HEIs) as avenues for peacebuilding. In Kenya, HEIs were constrained by competing demands for institutional survival amidst diminishing state financing and the high demand for university level-education and certifications. Similarly, broader social and historical issues within universities and beyond inhibit institutional efforts for peacebuilding. For example, negative ethnicity, electoral malpractice, corruption and inequality in resource allocations are issues that are imbedded in the structural and social fabric of the society in Kenya and require system-wide approaches in addition to peace education. This study concludes that there is a need for governments and educators to advocate for and implement policies and practices that incorporate local knowledge in peace education curriculum. It also suggests

[1] The names of these two institutions and all study participants are pseudonyms used to protect anonymity.

the need for a system-wide policy that address social and structural practices that exacerbate tensions and violence within all institutions.

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List of Abbreviations

AU	Amani University
CHEK	Commission for Higher Education of Kenya
CCS	Comparative Case Study
CPE	Critical Peace Education
CTF	Conflict Transformation Framework
CUE	Commission for University Education
EAC	The East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GoK	Government of Kenya
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
ICC	International Criminal Court
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergency
IRB	Institutional Review Board
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Kenya
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NCRC	National Crime Research Center
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
PCS	Peace and Conflict Studies
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals

SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TJRC	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
UMN	University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
UPEACE-A	United Nations University for Peace in Africa
UU	Umoja University

Chapter 1: Introduction and Approach to the Problem

The Research Problem

> In its role as the lever of peace and development, education and training should be seen as comprehensive resting on four pillars: learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and *learning to live together*. (MoEST, 2014, p. 9)

In 2007 and early 2008, Kenya experienced devastating post-election violence that resulted in over 1,300 deaths and 800,000 displaced people. Learning in schools and higher education institutions (HEIs)[2] was disrupted as some institutions were burned down. University faculty members and students, among others, were implicated both as perpetrators and victims of the violence (Kriegler & Waki, 2009; Wanyonyi, 2010). Later in 2015, 147 lives were lost and over 1,000 people were injured following a terrorist attack at Garissa University Teachers College not far from the Somali border (Gettleman, 2015). Although these were unrelated incidents, they reflect a global increase in the past decade in intra-state conflict,[3] particularly negative ethnicity,[4] post-election violence, civil unrest and violence in educational institutions (Boone & Burke, 2016; Lynch, 2006;

[2] Higher education will be used in this study to refer to tertiary education or post-secondary education that is not compulsory. Within the Kenyan context, higher education is a term used synonymously with university. In this case, higher education institutions will not include colleges or other post-secondary institutions that have not achieved the status of a university as defined by the Commission of Higher Education in Kenya (CHEK).

[3] Conflict is conceptualized here as both physical violence (armed conflict) and structural violence—the hidden forms of violence and conflict including inter-ethnic tensions and negative ethnicity[3] (Anderson, 1983; Galtung, 1996; Wanyonyi, 2010). Structural violence refers to the ways that social structures or institutions and policies can generate inequality that harm people and inhibit the capacity of humans to meet their important needs (Galtung, 1969).

[4] Ethnicity is a fluid or malleable form of identity that is based on social and historical constructions that can be normalized and made essential through various cultural and political activities over time (Anderson, 1983; Kivuva, 2004). In Kenya, geographical location, political/party identity and language play a role in the construction of ethnic identities. *Negative ethnicity* or *negative ethnic relations* are used in this dissertation to refer to social tensions or hatred among individuals from different ethnic identities or groups that emerge out of actions or feelings of exclusion or disadvantage based on differences in ethnicity, violent ethnic conflicts or competition for resources.

Munene, 2012; M. Richmond & O'Malley, 2014). For example, at the regional level, the civil war in South Sudan, Somalia and the Great Lakes region continued despite multiple peace agreements (IGAD, 2015; Maina & Melander, 2016). The regional unrest has ripple effects leading to Kenya, which hosts over 600,000 refugees and asylum seekers mostly from this region (UNHCR, 2017b, 2017a). The intractability of conflict to date reveals the inadequacy of peace treaties and peacekeeping missions alone in securing long-term peace. These challenges have sparked national, regional and global advocacy for peace, particularly the turn to education[5] in building a culture of peace. By culture of peace, I refer to beliefs, values, attitudes and ways of life that reject violence and promote equality, appreciation of diversity and non-violent approaches in managing conflict (E. Boulding, 2008).

The Government of Kenya (GoK) established a sector-wide peace policy in 2014. This policy, which was initiated in 2010, was a response to the cycles of conflict and violence in the country. The first draft was developed in 2011 through collaborations with local universities, government ministries, international and regional organizations such as UNICEF, UNESCO and the University for Peace in African Program (Kangethe, 2012).

[5] Education in this dissertation will refer to "the deliberate, systematic, and sustained efforts to transmit, evoke, or acquire knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, or sensibilities, and any learning that results from the efforts, direct or indirect, intended or unintended" (Cremin, 1978, p. 701). This definition alludes to the knowledge and development that results from a deliberate instructive effort. It also suggests a transformative effect that emanates from gaining values and attitudes that can be acquired as a result of an educational experience. Cremin's definition concurs with Eshiwani (1993), who asserted that education encompasses all types of instruction resulting in the gaining of knowledge and development of character. These definitions of education are distinct from schooling, which refers to the place or building, and the process of attending school. An important aspect of these definitions of education that is relevant to my study is the transformative potential of education. In this study, university-based peace and conflict studies, peace studies, or peace education programs (what I will commonly refer to as peace and conflict studies) will be viewed as educational projects that aim to develop knowledge, values, and attitudes that foster a culture of peace and social justice.

This peace policy aims to guide collaborations of all sectors (government ministries, parastatals, counties and educational institutions) to address the challenges of conflict in the region (MoEST, 2014). For example, the Kenyan government's Vision 2030, the national strategic plan for a fully industrialized state by the year 2030, identified national peace as a central pillar to national stability and development (GoK, 2008; Gainer, 2015). Furthermore, national agencies and commissions, such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)[6] and the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC), were established with the hope to spearhead national healing and reconciliation (NCIC, 2008). More importantly for this dissertation, national-level actors in Kenya turned to education for peacebuilding.[7] They aspired to create conflict-sensitive education and training to contribute to the "development of skills, values and knowledge for peacebuilding" (Kangethe, 2012; MoEST, 2014, p. 9). For example, the Peace Education Policy, developed in 2014, states that educational institutions should perform the "socialization function through the shaping of personal and collective identities, the formation of responsible citizenship and the promotion of critical social participation, based on principles of respect for life, human dignity and cultural diversity" (MoEST, 2014, p. 9). The belief embedded in this policy is that schools can help to counter the

[6] The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is a statutory body established under the National Cohesion and Integration Act No.12 of 2008. The establishment of NCIC recognized the need for a national institution to promote national identity and values, mitigate ethno-political competition and ethnically motivated violence, eliminate discrimination on ethnic, racial and religious basis and promote national reconciliation and healing (NCIC, 2008).

[7] Peacebuilding has commonly been understood to mean mechanisms aimed at transforming conflict from a negative and potentially destructive situation to a constructive one that can result in non-violence social change, sustainable human relationships and justice (Galtung, 1996; Kriesberg, 1998; Lederach, 1995).

culture of violence, and, therefore, a national peace education and life skills curriculum in primary and secondary school is needed to develop conflict resolution skills and attitude for peace (Kangethe, 2012). Similarly, colleges and universities established peace and conflict studies (PCS) programs[8] and centers for peace and social justice during the mid-2000s.

The formation of university-level peace related programs aligned with a trend in global funding and advocacy to build the capacity of colleges and universities in peacebuilding in Sub-Saharan Africa. This has led to several developments, such as the establishment of the Africa Regional Programme of the United Nations University for Peace (UPEACE) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Butera, 2012; G. Harris, 2010a; Omeje, 2014). In addition, with funding from United States Institutions for Peace (USIP), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Department for International Development (DFID), universities in Kenya started partnerships with local, regional and international institutions to formulate certificate, diploma, non-degree and degree programs in peace and conflict studies (Omeje, 2014). These initiatives aimed to support the training of teachers for peace education, police officer, church ministers, community leaders and future generation experts in peace and conflict.

[8] In Kenya, peace studies included conflict resolution education, development education, peace education, human rights education, security and justice education, peace and armed conflict studies, peace and justice; peace, conflict and security studies, and peace and environmental studies education. Despite the differences in the program titles, all the programs focus on understanding conflict and peace particularly effects of conflict, violence and approaches to conflict mitigation. Thus, I use Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) programs as an umbrella term for all peace education-related programs at the university level.

The focus on education and peacebuilding in Kenya is consistent with a widely-held view on the potential of education to build peace, especially at the K-12 levels (Bajaj, 2015; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; King, 2014; J. Smith, 2004). However, there are inadequate studies on the role of universities in peacebuilding before, during and after conflict. Few studies address the effects of conflict on higher education institutions, the significance of addressing educational inequality in peace agreements and the role of universities in developing human resources needed in a post-conflict or universities role in unsettling oppressive political regimes (Dupuy, 2008; Ndikumana, 2005; Pacheco, 2013). Specific to research on African universities, few have considered the university's role in peacebuilding. For example, in the last decade, numerous scholars have examined issues of quality of teaching, the growth of higher education in Africa, the effects of globalization and internationalization processes, educational reforms and knowledge transfer (Aina, 2010; P Altbach, 1987; Samoff, 2009; Tikly, 2001). Other studies have focused on neoliberal education processes that produced a market-driven education in universities (Mamdani, 2007; Oanda, Chege, & Wesonga, 2008). Only a few studies have engaged with the politics of education, particularly what it means to be educated and to be a university student engaged in political activism in Africa (Amutabi, 2002; Macharia, 2015; Stafford, 2013).

This study responds to some of the gaps in the literature by exploring the role of universities in peacebuilding in Kenya. In the chapters that follow, I examine conceptions of peace and analyze university actors' agency[9] in peacebuilding through peace and

[9] Agency will be used here to refer to an individual's belief in their ability to recognize, act and improve and transform their society, living conditions or societal challenges. I consider perspectives and actions of administrators, faculty and students (if any) in the process of

conflict studies programs in two Kenyan universities. I consider how university-level policies, PCS programs, faculty members, administrators and students' actions relate to education and social transformation in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa. I contend that for universities to contribute to peace and sustainability, there is a need to rethink their roles in society, including far greater reflection on how they reproduce social tension through poor ethnic relations, violent student life and inequality in access to university education. More importantly, national and university level actors ought to pay much more attention to local meaning, national policies about peace, and regional knowledge about peace and conflict and how to incorporate local views in programs on peace and conflict. This, I argue, must occur alongside the sobering recognition of the limitations of university initiatives in conflict transformation when universities themselves constitute some of the core grievances of armed conflict or social tensions in a conflict-affected region.

The study is significant for my two primary fields of Comparative Education and Development Studies because it contributes to research on how to explore local peace knowledge and the lived experiences of faculty members and students in PCS programs as central elements in educational planning for sustainability. Furthermore, through this dissertation, I raise questions and provide insights into the wider role of education for social transformation, particularly the role of faculty members and students who are often silenced in the literature, yet their actions directly or indirectly shape attitudes, policies,

peacebuilding as part of an agentic process of transforming their society. As this study focuses on the university, agency is also viewed as the beliefs and actions that relate to improving a university's culture, policies, resources, relationships and outreach aimed to build better communities affected by tensions or violence.

programs and inter/national discourses and practices about education and social change. As peace studies programs are fairly new in African higher education institutions compared to western universities, where they were established in the 1960s (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; G. Harris, 2010b), this study also contributes to our understanding of the implementation and experiences of students and faculty members in peace programs within an African context. Furthermore, this study generates a language and framework of understanding of peace in Kenya by analyzing participants views in relation to *peace knowledge*. Wisler (2010) defines *peace knowledge* as a region's or national way of knowing about peace, and this knowledge constitutes an essential intellectual heritage that is necessary for the creation and maintenance of a culture of peace. Findings from this study matter for educational theory and practice regarding universities' responses to the wider community needs, particularly in regions affected by multiple forms of conflict.

Overview of Study Design and Research Questions

This study is guided by an interpretivist research paradigm that views meaning as socially constructed (Crotty, 1998). It assumes that reality is socially mediated and differs for individuals as it is negotiated through diverse lived experiences and dynamic interpretations of cultural processes. As meaning making is central to this study, an interpretivist approach proved to be most useful because it enabled me to tease out participants' understandings of the socially-constructed nature of complex phenomena such as peace.

The interpretivist paradigm is consistent with qualitative methods of data collection. Scholars suggest that qualitative researchers aim to study things in their "natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the

meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 3). I primarily used semi-structured interviewing that I augmented with participant observations at the two universities, and textual analysis of policy documents, course syllabi and newspaper articles as forms of secondary data. Although this study does not seek to essentialize or prioritize one way of knowing over the other, my choice of methods of inquiry responds to some of the limitations of grand theories and macro-level analysis that often fail to attend to context- and local-level dynamics that affect understandings of peace and peace pedagogy. For example, the diversity in meanings of concepts like peace and unequal power structures that shape the appropriation of concepts and policies in disparate localities are often lost in studies that adopt universal definitions of concepts and promote global policies that pay little attention to local, national or regional conditions. For example, in my research, participants' views of peace as *undugu na uwazi,* ethnic cohesion and a corruption-free society illuminate context-specific meanings of peace that would have been lost in a study that only employed etic concepts like positive peace and negative peace.

The study adopted a comparative case study (CCS) approach (formerly named vertical case study) (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, 2017; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009). The CCS seeks to elucidate relationships at the "macro, meso, and micro levels, or scales" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 131) by offering multiple levels of analysis as a means of stretching the 'bounded' case to include the horizontal, vertical and transversal levels (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009). My study focuses on multiple units of analysis at the individual and institutional level. I explore national officials, university administrators, faculty members and students' conceptions of peace, approaches to PCS

and make comparisons across institutions. I recognized that PCS programs occur within the broader context of each university, the higher education sector in Kenya, the Kenyan socio-political context, and institutions outside of Kenya that provide curricular and other forms of support to these two PCS programs. I examine Amani University (a private Christian university) and Umoja University (a public university) and their peace and conflict studies (PCS) programs as the main focus of this comparative case study (see Chapter Three).

I selected these two institutions based on how well they represented the higher education environment in the country in regard to student life and faculty composition. Other factors included longevity of their PCS programs and the nature/scope of the PCS program. I analyzed participants' conceptions of peace, faculty teaching approaches, students' experiences of PCS programs. I further compared the two peace studies programs to interrogate the linkage between higher education and peacebuilding (I discuss the CCS approach in Chapter Three and the context of the two institutions at length in Chapter Four). In the following section, I will introduce the research questions and the theoretical and conceptual framework guiding the study.

Research Questions

This study seeks to address several questions with the overarching query guided by the following: How are university-based peace and conflict studies programs in Kenya conceptualized, perceived and implemented for peacebuilding by those directly involved in them? This major question is further explored in the following sub-questions:

1. How do university administrators, faculty, students and national officials view the role of universities in peacebuilding in Kenya?

a) What are the institutional rationales for establishing PCS programs and how they relate to literature on education and peacebuilding?

2. How do university faculty, students and administrators involved in peace and conflict studies programs conceptualize and enact peacebuilding in Kenyan universities?

   a) How do these conceptions align with literature on education and peacebuilding?

   b) How do these conceptions relate to those of national stakeholders,[10] students in PCS programs and those in the scholarly literature about peace?

3. How do faculty design and teach in PCS programs for peacebuilding in Kenyan universities?

   a) How, if at all, do PCS faculty draw on *peace knowledge* in their teaching?

4. What are the students' perceptions of their experiences in PCS programs and their relations to peacebuilding?

The first question examined how participants viewed the roles of Kenyan universities in peacebuilding. It also aimed to generate insights into rationales for establishing PCS programs at the institutional level and compared with views of national officials as well as students. In doing so, I sought to analyze perspectives on PCS programs as they relate to national and regional policies on peace education. Participants were selected based on

[10] National stakeholders refer to individuals at the Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) and National Commission and Integration Commission (NCIC) who are involved in policies on peace education and national healing and reconciliation in the country.

their roles in the policy formulation or implementation of PCS programs. I examine findings to these questions in both Chapters One and Four.

The second question seeks the views of national stakeholders, university administrators, faculty and students' understandings of peace. I compared understandings of peace amongst participants at the national-level and across the two universities. I further related these meanings of peace to Galtung's *positive* and *negative peace* conceptions. Johan Galtung, who is regarded as the founding scholar of the field of peace studies, viewed negative peace as the absence of direct violence and is associated with peacemaking processes resulting in cessation of violence. He further asserted that positive peace connoted the removal of structural or indirect violence, for example the unequal distribution of resources, power, or the marginalization of groups which eventually result in armed conflict (Galtung, 1969, 2012). In doing these comparisons of meaning about peace, I aim to analyze how participants' views of peace portray a Kenyan example of peace knowledge.

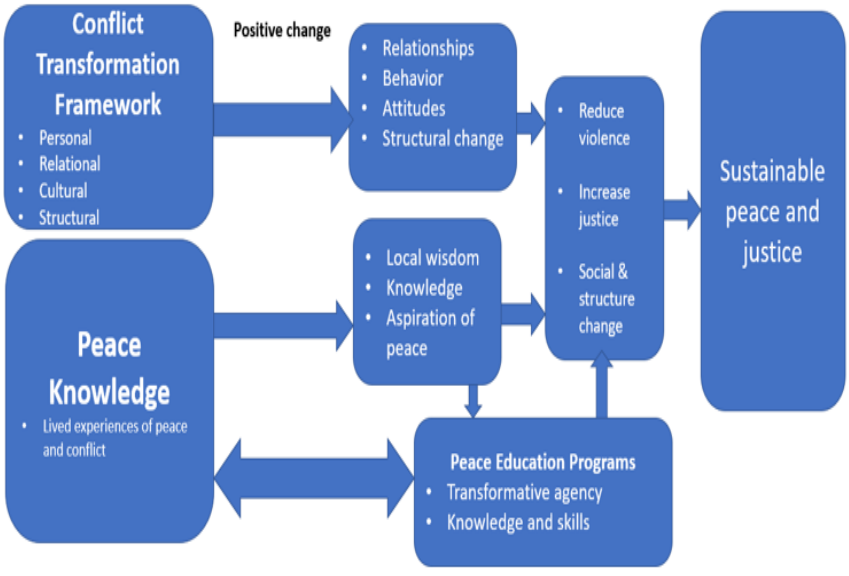
The third question further examined faculty members' approaches to curriculum design and teaching in PCS programs. I analyzed how faculty members designed and taught in peace and conflict and if at all they utilized their local knowledge about peace in teaching. The fourth question looked at student experiences in peace and conflict studies programs. This is particularly important because studies about university students in the country and the region has portrayed them as militant subjects, and their actions as disruptive and violent (Amutabi, 2002; Macharia, 2015). How students understand peace and conflict, and act for social change is greatly under-examined in the literature. By focusing on students' lived experience and participation in university programs for peace,

I attempt to offer not only their motivations and aspirations for peace (if any) but also to demonstrate how university-level programs for peace can generate forms of agency—actions, beliefs, attitudes and practices for social transformation amongst students and how this happens within an African context.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

As this study seeks to understand the linkages between educational processes and conflict transformation in Kenyan universities, my conceptual and theoretical framework comes from the works of scholars who have interrogated the links between education, peacebuilding and sustainability in general. I will draw most heavily on Lederach's Conflict Transformation Framework (CTF) (1995, 1997, 2003) and Wisler's (2010) concept of peace knowledge.

Figure 1 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework



According to Lederach, conflict transformation is supposed to respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating "constructive change

processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships" (Lederach, 2003, p. 14). According to the CTF model transformation occur at four levels: personal, relational, cultural, and structural that I expound on in Chapters Six.

I use the CTF to examine how PCS programs were designed to foster transformation and the ways that faculty members viewed their programs and teaching approaches in regard to the four areas of transformation (personal, relational, structural and cultural). I also relate students' experiences of peace and studies programs to reveal identities, attitudes, actions and agency that may have emerged and how they may relate to the conflict transformation model. It is important for me to note here that this study does not seek to evaluate whether or not the PCS programs resulted in conflict transformation; rather, my focus has to do with the ways that participants perceived, experienced and designed PCS programs in relation to conflict transformations in order to make sense of how university level actors viewed themselves, their actions and universities in relation to the process of peacebuilding.

Secondly, I draw from Wisler's (2010) concept of peace knowledge to examine how understandings and approaches to peacebuilding draw on context-level or regional ways of knowing and lived experiences of conflict and peace. Peace knowledge is an important analytical tool for this study because the proliferation of PCS programs within universities not only portrays HEIs as spaces to foster conflict transformation but, more importantly, faculty in these programs assume the identity of transformative educators (Johnson, 2013; Ndura-Ouédraogo, 2009). Since peace education programs aim to inculcate agency, action, knowledge and skills necessary for the generation of structures

that can enhance sustainable peace and justice, faculty in these programs are the pillars for conceptualizing and designing courses that are supposed to help their universities attain such goals. Through the concept of peace knowledge, I pay attention to the ways that faculty utilized their lived experiences and designed PCS in ways that portray the local wisdom, knowledge and aspirations of peace, and how these programs seek to address the challenges to sustained peace.

Emerging from this process of local understandings of peace is participants' conceptions of peace as *Undugu na uwazi* that I will discuss extensively in Chapter Three and in the data chapters too. Even though these concepts lack specific word-to-word translations in English, I use *Undugu na uwazi* meaningful human relationships build on a culture of openness, care, forgiveness, interdependence and human connectedness which participants suggested are necessary for long-term peace.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will present the broader geographical context of the study so that I can situate my inquiry within the national dynamics that I contend are essential background knowledge for this dissertation. I will also provide an overview of the higher education system in Kenya and summarize the subsequent chapters in the dissertation.

Kenya: Geography, History, Conflict and Peace

A discussion of education and peacebuilding in Kenya must be understood within the context of the country's history. Kenya is an apt location for studying education and peacebuilding because intractable ethnic clashes and violence exist amidst a steady growth in educational access and expansions, particularly in higher education institutions. In Kenya, as was the case in other African states before the arrival of colonialism, tribal

leadership and kingship often formed sophisticated, yet flexible, social networks and constructed specific identity marker in the society (Sifuna, 1990; Vavrus, 2002). These networks were greatly disrupted during colonial rule. British colonial policies in Kenya created a divide and rule system relying on collaborators among African elites and tribal leaders, who served to objectify and reify culture and customs that were then ascribed to discrete tribal groups (Gutkind, 1970; Lonsdale, 1977).

The system of indirect rule, which lasted between 1885 and 1963 in Kenya, worked on the logic of cooperation and separation where African chiefs were manipulated to rally their communities in support of colonial policies like taxation and then they would receive political or economic favors in return. In this way, the British created a centralized system of governance with provincial and local administrative units. However, this type of leadership contributed to ethnic-based competition for political power, economic resources and betrayal among tribal groups (Wanyonyi, 2010). Similarly Lynch (2010) observed that the introduction of the provincial system of administration meant that African groups need to establish close ethnic ties with those in leadership in order to benefit from the resources from the central government subsequently creating ethnic-tensions. While I do not discount the understanding that inter-ethnic conflict was experienced before the arrival of colonialism, the contemporary challenges of ethnic challenges in Kenya are rooted in the colonial and postcolonial manipulation of ethnicity. The growth in ethnic consciousness became more pronounced in the post-colonial era when, in 1963, Jomo Kenyatta became the first president of Kenya.

Although the country has over 44 ethnic groups, these groups started to merge at independence, often based on geographic boundaries in order to solidify political and economic and representation in the national government (Adar, 1998; Malik, 2015). As earlier pointed out, ethnic divisions were reflected in the political dispensations during the pre-independence period. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) was supported principally by Kikuyu and Luo ethnic group, while the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) had supporters from the Mijikenda, Kalenjin, Maasai and white settlers (Branch, 2011; Hornsby, 2012; Kyle, 1999). KANU wanted a centralized system of governance while KADU advocated for a federal political structure. However, after losing the elections in 1961 and 1963, KADU was dissolved and Kenya became a one-party state with Kenyatta becoming the first president in 1964 (Kyle, 1999). The one-party state was advocated by KANU supporters who argued that a single party could promote national stability. However, single party rule curtailed freedom of expression and debate on political policies. For example, in the 1970s KANU introduced two very influential pieces of legislation that granted power to the government to censor and the right to hold suspects in detention without trial. Similarly President Kenyatta oppressed his opponents through detention, which created fear and hardened ethnic division (Branch, 2011; Lynch, 2010; Mueller, 2008). Jomo Kenyatta ruled from 1964-1978, when he died. Under his reign, Kikuyus, his own ethnic community, received economic favors including allocation of land and resources that were owned by colonialists, great access to employment, and increased establishment of educational institutions and infrastructure in the Central Province, the regional base of the Kikuyu (Throup, 1987).

The second president, Daniel Moi, sought to reverse the Kikuyu political advantage and embarked on strategies to empower and privilege the Kalenjin, his own community (Lynch, 2011). In the 1980s Moi detained political opponents such as Kenneth Madiba, Raila Odinga and Masinde Muliro (Branch, 2011). These actions resulted in strained ethnic relations between the communities of the detainees and that of the president resulting in renewed efforts to establish multiparty in early 1990. Subsequent multiparty elections were marred with electoral malpractices, post-election violence and ethnic violence, which some scholars argue were supported by the government (Adar, 1998). The 1992 clashes resulted in over 2,000 deaths and more than 300,000 displaced people (Klopp & Kamungi, 2008). Post-election violence and ethnic clashes were also witnessed in the disputed presidential elections of 1997 in which President Moi was declared the winner. In the election of 2002, after Moi declared his intention to retire, he appointed Uhuru Kenyatta, the son of the founding president, as his successor. However, opposition leaders formed a united team to support Mwai Kibaki, who received nationwide support and won the election (Klopp & Kamungi, 2008). President Kibaki oversaw the promulgation of the second constitution which was supposed to mark the rebirth of the country on peace and justice. However, these gains in the areas of peace and democracy were short-lived and were thwarted by the increasing disparity in national resources allocation and nepotism, as well as marginalization of the country's youth (Njogu, 2013). The lingering effects of this violence is what led to the creation of many peace and conflict studies programs over the past decade and is what informs studies on how these programs are adapted to support peacebuilding efforts.

The Kenyan Education Context

In Kenya, Indigenous or Traditional African Education (TAE) was practiced before the beginning of Western education in the 19th century. Indigenous education differed among ethnic groups, but it had a common focus of developing moral values necessary for the survival of the individual within the society (Eshiwani, 1993; Sifuna, 1990). These education systems were managed by clan elders and focused on knowledge and skills that were specialized according to age and gender roles, such as farming, or midwifery, rainmakers, traditional herbalist, and mediators (Sifuna, 1990). Conflict occasionally occurred, especially due to cattle rustling, as well as fighting aimed to expand territories among neighboring communities. Furthermore, this traditional education did not pay attention to the gender inequalities that it reinforced, especially the ways that segregated education bifurcated not only gender roles but also power and hierarchy in ways that normalize gender-based violence. Addressing domestic and gender-based violence has remained a major challenge in the Kenya even as efforts are made to address gender inequality (GoK,2014).

Formal education (western education) in Kenya, where learning and teaching were carried out within activities in classroom environments, dates back to the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1846 (Eshiwani, 1993; Sifuna, 1990). The missionaries aimed to produce a new African, marked with a departure from traditional practice and embracing certain western values and ways of living (Coe, 2005; Cunningham, 2006; Sifuna, 1990). A few Africans were taught limited literacy in English to help as interpreters to both missionaries and colonial administrators.

In 1911, the colonial government established the first non-missionary schools for Africans. These schools were Alliance, Maseno, Kaguma, Nyeri, Kisii, Kakamega and Mangu, which corresponded with the newly formed colonial provincial administration boundaries (Eshiwani, 1993). These schools aimed to train headmen and chiefs of different ethnic groups to help in the administration of the indirect colonial rule. The education at this time was also segregated with high training reserved for the children of colonial masters. Later, Africans established African Independent Schools to oppose the indoctrination of children in Christianity and to challenge the segregated colonial education system (Sifuna, 1990). As a result, the numbers of Africans with access to formal education increased gradually in the 1940-1950s both in secondary education and at the University of East Africa, or Makerere as it was known, in Uganda. This institution was regional, and it included the Royal Institute College (now the University of Nairobi) in Kenya and Dar es Salaam College (now the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania (Eshiwani, 1993).

Kenyan independence in 1963 created a new opportunity for Africans to access not only secondary education in much larger number but also higher education. Eshiwani (1993) asserted that independence brought a new era that changed occupational roles for Africans who now had to assume responsibility in the administration of their own country. This resulted in a high demand for education based on the understanding that acquiring secondary and higher education provided greater opportunity for formal employment. For instance, the Royal Technical Institute in Kenya was upgraded to the University of Nairobi in 1970, becoming the first public university in the country (Eshiwani, 1993). This mission of the university was to produce a high-level workforce

for nation-building; teaching, research and the preservation of knowledge and culture; and the provision of public service through the application of scholarship to solve societal problems (Oanda et al., 2008).

The newly established universities in East Africa generally maintained the structures they inherited from the colonial masters, in partnership with universities abroad to support curriculum and faculty development. Yet the post-colonial university project in Kenya has been criticized for creating elitism and segregation in ways that some perceive is a continuation of the colonial segregation system (Oanda et al., 2008). This is because less than two percent of Kenyans were able to attend university during the 1970s. By the early 1990s, the total number of university students in the country was less than 20,000, approximately ten percent of the total number of students who had graduated from secondary schools (Eshiwani, 1993). Furthermore, some studies revealed that during the colonial and post-colonial era, there was privileging of certain ethnic groups for secondary and post-secondary schooling based on their ethnic groups or association to the colonial government (Chege, 2009). These privileges for some groups have contributed greatly to ethnic exclusion and inequality in access to higher education in the country.

In the first five decades of the postcolonial era, higher education was heavily controlled by the government in terms of the appointment of top management and resource allocation. A study by Chege (2009) found that the post-colonial government in Kenya, as in many other African countries, continued dictatorial colonial legacies of mass repression and academic censorship through collaboration with university administrators. University leaders collaborated with national government to suppress critical discussions

on state-oppression, nepotism and advocacy for multiparty democracy (Macharia, 2015; Munene, 2012) As Chege asserts:

> The relationship between the state and higher education has been characterized by suppression, arrests, detention without trial, and even the deaths of anti-establishment academics and students. Evident in the persistent suppression of dissenting voices is the legacy of colonialism, especially in the use of government resources and the police system, in league with university administrations to smother critical dialogue. (2009, p. 55)

By omitting critical discussions of these issues and favoring pedagogies that maintained the status quo, universities in Kenya contributed to the normalization of political ills, ethnic marginalization and continued victimization of intellectuals who advocated for academic freedom and socio-economic equality. These issues are important for this study, and I will interrogate them in later chapters to establish how administrators and faculty engage with students in dealing with these systemic challenges when thinking about the role of universities in peacebuilding.

In addition to the enduring colonial legacies in the Kenyan education systems, other features of contemporary higher education in Kenya include the rapid growth in the number of higher education institutions. Moreover, there is high demand for a university education and the emergence of an entrepreneurial university through self-financing following cuts in government expenditure in public education. The number of public universities increased from one in 1970 to thirty 30 in 2016 (CHEK, 2015). The high demand for higher education (as people wanted degrees and certificates in order to gain meaningful employment) resulted in the introduction of parallel degree programs (self-sponsored education) in public universities. This resulted in an increase in nationwide enrollment from approximately 80,000 students in 2003 to over 250,000 in 2015 (CHEK,2015). Moreover, this increase in the number of high school graduates is

associated with the introduction of free primary education and subsidized secondary education in the country in early 2003. However, the demand for university-level education is not matched with expansion in the teaching and learning resources (Oanda et al., 2008). As a result, university administrators, especially in public universities, face the enormous challenge of delivering quality education, research and innovation despite the increasing limited funding from the state. The conundrum of demand versus quality education has implications on how universities rationalize and run academic programs. I will demonstrate in Chapter Four that PCS studies programs have equally been engulfed somewhat in this economic dilemma.

Overall, the development of education in Kenya shows a struggle for representation by various Kenyans against colonial and post-colonial policies and the growth of ethnic preferences within higher education institutions. The ethnic manifestation is particularly reflected in the establishment of universities based on ethnic and geopolitical identity, the recruitment of faculty and students based on ethnic identity and the privileging of schooling based on the ethnicity of those in power. Furthermore, the context of contemporary higher education in Kenya reveals high demands for higher education and a rise in neoliberal education processes. More importantly, universities are implicated in the process of fomenting conflict, particularly poor ethnic relations and inequalities in access to higher education, as much as they have also been held up as sites for developing future leaders. These processes, as I will demonstrate in later chapters, matter in understanding the limits of peace and conflict programs in conflict transformation processes in the country. I will also draw on participants' reflections on

these issues to illuminate more broadly the nexus of universities processes in fomenting conflict or peacebuilding in the country.

Conclusion

This chapter has explained why Kenya is an important site for the investigation of the relationship between higher education and peacebuilding. Higher education institutions in the country, as in many other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, have been implicated for many years in the production of social hierarchies, in the reproduction of inequality in educational opportunities based on ethnicity, gender, and class and in the perpetuation of physical violence during periods of national upheavals. Yet university faculty and students have also been on the frontlines in the push for systemic changes in the country's social and political order, such as the move towards multiparty democracy in the early 1990s. At the same time, Kenya has faced internal unrest and negative ethnicity that often result in physical violence and negative ethnicity, including within the past decade (Wamwere, 2003). The national drive for peace through education, particularly peace-related studies in universities, is a growing initiative across African countries, and Kenya is no exception (Harris, 2010). However, there is a need for research on these initiatives as avenues for positive social change in the region as well as on the limitations of such efforts.

Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter provided the initial overview of the study on higher education and peacebuilding. I introduced briefly the study design, conceptual framework and methodology that I employ to examine conceptions and approaches to peacebuilding by administrators, faculty and students in PCS programs at the two Kenyan universities. In

Chapter Two, I expand upon this one as I review literature on peace the nexus of education and peacebuilding and trace the history, foundations and philosophy of peace studies/ peace education and the methods of teaching these programs. I also discuss the peace education in Africa and in Kenya. I establish gaps in understandings of peace from a non-western context and the limited focus on the role of universities in peacebuilding.

Chapter Three discusses the overarching methodology and study design. I provide the rationale for the methods that I employed for data collection which were semi-structured interviews, participant observations and document reviews. I then present the data summaries of national officials, faculty, administrators and students at the two universities and methods of data analysis. I conclude with an examination of my positionality and ethical considerations that I considered while conducting and writing findings of this study.

In Chapter Four, I examine the higher education context of Amani University and Umoja University. I compare these two institutions in terms of their philosophies, missions, academic and student life and approaches to peace and conflict studies programs. I illuminate the micro and macro level factors that shaped the establishment of PCS programs in these two institutions. I show that context matters in conceptualizing both understanding conceptions of peace by participant and their perspectives of higher education and peacebuilding in Kenya and within Africa.

In Chapter Five, I analyze understandings of peace by faculty members, administrators, national officials and students. I compare and contrast participants' views of peace to Galtung's (1969) positive peace and negative peace. I also examine how participants views relate to Wisler's ideas of peace knowledge. Here, I demonstrate that

participant's views of peace were not only diverse but also particular to Kenya and constituted a peace knowledge and that this knowledge matters for a comprehensive meaning of peace and practices of peacebuilding in the country.

In Chapter Six, I present the ways that faculty members designed the curriculum and taught peace and conflict courses. I also discuss students' perspectives of their experiences in these programs in regard to conflict transformation. I draw on participant observation notes in classrooms, outreach activities and student experiences to illustrate that faculty members utilized local knowledge, peace knowledge and critical pedagogies to build students' knowledge, skills and agency for peace and socio-economic justice.

Finally, in Chapter Seven, I reflect on the implications of the study findings and avenues for future research. I also reflect on the university and peacebuilding and the place of peace and conflict studies programs within Kenya and African universities.

Chapter 2: Higher Education, Peace and Conflict

Introduction

This chapter situates the study of peace and conflict studies (PCS) programs historically and engages with various scholarship on education and peacebuilding. I pay particular attention to views on higher education and peacebuilding and the emergence PCS programs as avenues for conflict transformation. The review of literature is organized as follows: First, I provide an overview of education and peacebuilding in Kenya. I then examine perspectives on the role of universities in peacebuilding. I also discuss education and peacebuilding specifically in Kenya. Secondly, I trace the history and discuss the epistemology and principles of PCS as they relate to education and peacebuilding. The final section of the chapter explores major approaches to teaching in PCS programs and how they relate to peacebuilding. Through this review, I reveal that there are limited studies that have explored the role of higher education in peacebuilding, conceptions of peace and the role of PCS programs in peacebuilding especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. I maintain that studies examining different understandings of peace in universities and the ways that university-based peace and conflict programs are implemented for conflict transformation matter for appropriate theorization and practice of higher education and for peacebuilding in areas affected by conflict and social tension.

Education, Conflict and peacebuilding

The rise in civil war, armed conflict, terrorism, structural violence, and post-election related conflict around the globe (as in Iraq, Kenya, the Great Lakes region of East and Central Africa, South Sudan, etc.) has proven the futility of violent solutions to these prevalent challenges. In response, scholars, policy makers, and international bodies

have advocated for multiple strategies for building peace through education (Bakar & Benharoon, 2013; Harris, 2010). In particular, higher education institutions have been called upon to use their resources to address these complex social challenges that have profound effects on learning and regional peace (Heyneman, Kraince, Lesko, & Bastedo, 2007). This is particularly true in Kenya following an increase in youth related violence, insecurity and negative ethnicity that catalyzed in the 2007/2008 post-election violence. Higher education institutions established PCS programs in tandem with national and regional efforts for sustainability. This approach relates to global calls for education in peacebuilding a culture of peace. For example, the Hague Appeal for Peace (1998) states:

> A culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems, have the skills to resolve conflicts and struggle for justice non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the earth and each other. Such learning can only be achieved with *systematic education for peace.* (p. 6, emphasis added)

This view of the potential of education for peacebuilding has resulted in advocacy for peace education[11] curricula in K-12 programs and policies for education access in post-conflict societies (King, 2014; Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Peace education scholars hold the view that people can learn to act non-violently, and to oppose conflict and war. Educators of peace education focus on how educational curricula, both formal

[11] Peace education has been defined as "the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behavior changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level (Fountain, 1999, p. 1).

and informal can promote skills, values, and attitudes that can foster peace and justice (Galtung, 2008; Montessorri, 1949; Ragland, 2015). Despite these developments, there is inadequate scholarly attention on the role of HEIs in peacebuilding and how university-based peace and conflict studies can contribute to peace and sustainability in conflict-affected regions.

Higher Education and Peacebuilding

The majority of the research on higher education and peacebuilding links HEIs in the development of democracy and political stability before, during and after conflict (Buckland, 2005; Collier et al., 2003; Heyneman et al., 2007; Kamen, 1988; Murdoch & Sandler, 2004).Scholars suggest that higher education curricula can help to develop a democratic citizenry and prepare a workforce necessary in the post-conflict phase after acute violence has dissipated. Collier et al., (2003), taking an economic view, argued that access to higher education and availability in job opportunities, increases the opportunity cost for participation in violence and war. A study by Glaeser et al. (2006) on education and democracy suggested that a high level of schooling has a latent function that entails the inculcation of virtues of political action, an improvement of interpersonal skills that enhance civic involvement and better decision making skills among students. Heyneman et al. (2007) further argued that HEIs are instrumental in the development of a rational and self-critical society, in which the sense of shared citizenship overcomes differences based on race, religion and ethnic identities, hence contributing to national peace and reconciliation. Other studies in Kenya showed that youth who were uneducated and unemployed were more likely to participate in violence and organized crime than their counterparts who had higher education training and stable employment (Aluoka, 2016;

Owino, 2013). Aluoka (2016) demonstrated that these youths were vulnerable to manipulation by politicians who hire them to fight opponent groups.

Scholars who share the positive view of higher education and peacebuilding propose an expansion of higher education institutions in periods after conflict and a non-discriminatory framework for access to higher educational opportunities (Collier et al., 2003; Dupuy, 2008; Kamen, 1988). For them, educational reconstruction as a means to peacebuilding can address inequality in education access and bias in the curriculum, such as ethnic representations, which contribute to civil war (Dupuy, 2008; Thyne, 2006). Moreover, some scholars suggest the inclusion of higher education reform policies in peace agreements (Dupuy, 2008; Torsti, 2005). These reform policies can vary from one context to another, but in general, they focus on equitable access to education. Although including higher education reforms in peace agreements does not guarantee their implementation, Dupuy (2008) argued that the failure of post -conflict regimes to honor such reforms contributes to cycles of conflict because an inadequate system of education can become a major grievance for civil war.

The tertiary educational policy reforms in South Africa have been viewed as critical in the making of a post-apartheid nation. Apartheid policies denied equal access to educational opportunities to black Africans, subsequently widening economic inequalities and exacerbating inter-racial/ethnic tensions (Woods, 2002). However, the University of Fort Hare's response to issues of nationalism and the creation of positive mechanisms to enhance education for all especially black Africans was significant in the training of a majority of the black leaders in South Africa as well as bridging the inequality in educational access that exacerbated social tensions. Ngwane (2001) argued

that “confronted with the problem of relevance and identity following the end of apartheid, South African universities embarked on internal processes of institutional transformation to remake their images to fit the ethos of the new nation” (p. IX). However, these studies assume that HEIs administrators and faculty are self-reflective, and that their teaching approaches, structures and policies are often geared for peace. This may be naïve because other scholars have shown that HEIs can equally reproduce conflict, inequality and negative ethnic relations (Munene, 2012).

Scholarship on this matter is not in agreement because some studies have revealed that increased access to higher education does not necessary create individuals who are peaceful. A study by Krueger and Maleckova (2003) showed that greater access to higher education does not inevitably result in peaceful perspective and positive social change. In the same way, Lifton (2000) used the case of the Nazi regime to argue that faculty and university students were involved in orchestrated conflicts and genocide against the Jewish population. Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1977) research explained how universities can produce structural violence by maintaining the interests of the ruling classes and reproducing the status quo, thereby limiting education chances for lower socio-economic backgrounds. Likewise, Munene (2012) examined higher education management in Kenya and concluded that nepotism and ethnic favoritism in higher education management and recruitment created tensions among ethnic groups in Kenya. A similar study by Jordan and Wiese (2009) revealed that ethnicity played a role in the selection criteria to higher education in South Africa during the apartheid regime. Thus, higher education institutions can perpetuate structural violence, negative ethnicity and exacerbate social inequality.

Other scholars locate faculty teaching approaches or pedagogy at the center of peacebuilding. For example, Bajaj (2015) and Solomon (2012) borrowed from Freire's (1970) ideas of critical pedagogies to show how teachers can help to generate agency among students to take actions that aim to foster constructive social change. These scholars maintain that critical approaches to teaching in peace education can increase learners' awareness of their disposition to peace and conflict and guide actions that can disrupt structures and cultures that foment conflict. However, this view assumes that faculty are committed to the promotion of peace when, in fact, this is not always the case, especially with the market-driven education. It is important to examine how faculty construct notions of peace to help illuminate HEIs as potential spaces for conflict transformation. Moreover, little is known about the actual implementation of peace and conflict studies programs, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, and how they actually address challenges of violence and inter-ethnic conflicts.

The debate among scholars regarding the role of HEIs to build peace or foment conflict suggests that these institutions have a critical role to play in societies because the values and structures within HEIs often mirror broader systems of inequalities in power and existing social tensions. At the same time, it is widely recognized that HEIs have the potential to influence these values and inequalities by offering an alternative vision of social relations and means of breaking from a violent past. Thus, universities are spaces that can foster peace and reinforce conflict. However, this scholarship does not illuminate how approaches to peacebuilding through higher education can differ from one context to the other, and how specific social, historical, and geopolitical factors shape this process. More important to this dissertation is the lack of attention to how peacebuilding is

constructed by faculty within HEIs, especially in peace and conflict studies programs. In the following section, I discuss peace and conflict studies as an educational approach to peacebuilding within HEIs.

Peace and Conflict Studies: A Historical and Conceptual Analysis

Peace and conflict studies programs in higher education were first established in Western countries in early 1960s, but they are quite new in Kenya and in Sub-Saharan Africa more broadly. These programs started mainly in the United States and Europe (Kurtz & Harris, 2008; Stephenson, 2010). Johan Galtung is viewed as a founding scholar in peace studies. Born in 1930 in Norway, Galtung experienced the effects of World War II during his teenage years, especially the effects of German occupation of Norway that resulted in his father's arrest by the Nazi regime (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). These experiences are what made him commit to social activism for peace. Galtung earned two doctorate degrees, in mathematics and sociology, in the mid-1950s. He also co-founded the Peace Research Institute in Oslo in 1959 and the *Journal of Peace Research* in 1964 through which the field of peace and conflict emerged (Galtung & Fischer, 2013; Kurtz & Harris, 2008).

A study by Meyer and Shuster (2007) on PCS globally indicated that the United States leads the world in number of programs, with 257 graduate and undergraduate programs and research centers out of the 390 institutions that responded to the survey worldwide. Although the African continent has experienced intractable civil war and conflict in the last decade, a study by Milan (2002) showed that only 27 universities and four technical institutions were teaching peace and conflict studies, broadly defined (these courses were integrated into disciplines like history, sociology, political science

and religious studies). Of these 27 universities, however, only five had full degree courses in peace and conflict studies. These included degree programs in peace studies/conflict resolution at the University of Kwa Zulu, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, and University of Mmabatho in South Africa; the peace and governance program at Africa University in Zimbabwe (G. Harris, 2010b).

Some scholars have proposed explanations for the global disparity in the distribution of peace and conflict studies programs, including a perceived lack of relevance of peace and conflict programs in the non-western contexts. For example, Al-Kubaisi (2012) argued that the perceptions of these courses as foreign and the unfavorable conditions for establishing these programs in governments that curtail academic freedom account for their small numbers in some countries. There are also issues related to the lack of expertise among African faculty in the areas of peace and conflict studies and limited financial resources to effectively implement these programs (Ndura-Ouédraogo, 2009). For example, Chege (2009) observed that universities in Kenya during the 1970s through the late 1980s were prohibited from teaching courses that were considered sensitive by government officials and university administrators. Such courses relating to conflict and negative ethnicity were completely prohibited during the 24 years of President Daniel Moi's rule. However, as noted in Chapter One, there has been a proliferation of peace and conflict related courses in Kenya[12] and other African countries (G. Harris, 2010a).

[12] This is information is based on preliminary online research on registered courses in Kenyan universities through the Commission of Higher Education and also on personal knowledge. The actually number of programs will be compiled during a pre-dissertation field work in December-2015/January-2016.

In addition to the imbalance between peace and conflict studies in the United States and Europe and in Africa, there is also a preponderance of peace education programs at the K-12 level compared to HEIs. According to Burns and Aspeslagh (1996), peace education occurring in primary and secondary schools generally aims to replace a "war culture" with a "peace culture" (p. 46) that esteems non-violent approaches to conflict resolution and values justice, equality and human rights. This takes the form of teaching students about values, beliefs, attitudes, emotions and skills for reducing conflict and increasing reconciliation. For example, in Northern Ireland, the peace education curriculum in the early 1990s aimed to reduce prejudice and increase tolerance and appreciation of racial, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, especially between Protestants and Catholics (Duffy, 1994). In Kenya, the peace education curriculum in primary and secondary schools aims to promote cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity (MoEST, 2014). In contrast to the K-12 focus, peace and conflict studies in universities tend to prioritize increasing knowledge of the causes and effects of conflict, violence and war (Lopez, 1985). In the US, similar programs include those in Peace Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and the Peace Studies Program at the University of Notre Dame. Some scholars argue that peace and conflict studies differ from programs in other social sciences because they are not only concerned with explaining or theorizing about conflict, war and peace but also with increasing knowledge that can be used to develop "strategies that can be used to achieve a more peaceful world in the future" (Alger, 2007). A central component of this study is devoted to understanding how such strategies are developed, conceptualized and perceived by faculty and students within the Kenyan universities. In the next section, I examine the

history of peace and conflict studies in HEIs, the rationale for establishing these programs, and the conceptual foundations that underlie this field of study.

Peace and Conflict Studies: A Historical Interpretation

Although the events of the World War II marked a significant historical moment that sparked attention to peace and conflict studies and the potential role of education for promoting world peace, the discourse on this topic can be traced back as far as the seventeenth century (Hutchins, 1943; Stephenson, 2010). For example, Harris (2008) argued that Comenius, the Czech educator, advocated for "formal attempts to educate people about peace" (p. 1477), which makes him one of the first scholars in the field of peace and conflict studies. Some scholars have averred that the teachings of religious leaders such as Jesus Christ, Buddha and Mohamed underscored non-violent approaches to conflict resolution that make these teachings foundational (Appleby, 2000; Heft, 2004).

Despite the early debates on conflict and peace, colleges and universities did not begin courses in peace and conflict studies until the events of the American Civil War, which led to the invention of weapons of mass human destruction like machine guns and battleships (Kurtz & Harris, 2008). In response to these developments, universities and colleges in North America and Europe started student peace clubs, speaker series and demonstrations against war and weapons of mass destruction (Harris, Fisk, & Rank, 1998). Similarly, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) started to advocate for peace education and peace and conflict studies in the late 19th century. This resulted in the first conference on peace, the World Peace Convention in May, 1889, and another conference in 1907, lobbying for limits on war (Harris et al., 1998). After World War I, educators,

NGOs and peace activists called for education at both K-12 and HEIs for international understanding. The discourse on education and peace at this time focused on raising consciousness for national boundaries, political organizations and appreciation of diversity of cultures (Lopez, 1985; Stephenson, 2010).

The events of the World War II sparked interests in education as a means to create a peaceful world order leading to the discourse on education as a means to construct a "world citizen" (Kurtz & Harris, 2008; Montessorri, 1949). At the same time, institutions such as the UNESCO led efforts for peace education in schools around the world. For example, in 1953, UNESCO sponsored the Associated Schools Project that aimed to promote the study of critical issues such as peace in all schools globally and to help teachers in secondary schools develop their capacity to teach about challenging world problems (Kurtz & Harris, 2008; UNESCO, 1945). In this Associated School Project, UNESCO aimed to develop materials for teaching three major world challenges: disarmament, global economic order and human rights (Harris & Morrison, 2003). For UNESCO, dealing with the challenges of war and conflict was through an education that transformed the mind. For example, the UNESCO Constitution asserted that, "since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed" (UNESCO, 1945). This famous statement alludes to the imagined role of education for transformative social change through changing people's perceptions of war and peace. However, the focus on the intellectual aspects of individuals for peacebuilding is limited because it fails to pay attention to the structural aspects that foster violence and conflict (Haavelsrud, 1996).

Despite the limited institutional approach to peace, UNESCO has played a key role in shaping the discourse on peace education. Starting from its founding in 1945, UNESCO recognized political and economic agreements were not adequate to build long-term peace after the two world wars. Therefore, the organization devoted its mandate to support world peace through "promoting collaboration among nations through education, science, and culture as well as promote universal respect for justice and human rights" (UNESCO, 1945). In particular, the Associated School Project was significant in sparking the interests of university professors, especially in colleges of education, to consider the role of their institutions for peacebuilding, as well as their personal goals to gain knowledge in peace and conflict studies and pass it on to future generations through teacher candidates (Brock-Utne, 1995; Kurtz & Harris, 2008).

However, UNESCO's universal approach to peace through education has been criticized as promoting western ideologies and interests in war-affected areas, and it has therefore received little local acceptance in regions like the Middle East (Al-Kubaisi, 2012). A major criticism of this perceived western approach to peace emanates from the professionalism that the field has grown to embody, especially the multidisciplinary approach that is perceived to be contrary to traditional practices of conflict transformation in different cultural contexts (Melchin & Picard, 2008; Meyer & Shuster, 2007). In particular, Melchin and Picard (2008) critiqued the field of peace and conflict studies for privileging western knowledge: "[W]e have witnessed too many disasters created by so-called western scientific approaches to human problems, and we have come to appreciate the considerable wisdom to be found in the traditional practices of diverse cultures" (pp. 27-28). As a result, Melchan and Picard (2008) proposed scholarly approaches to

peacebuilding that "build upon folk knowledge" (p. 28). This criticism is very important because it highlights the tensions between western and foreign ways of knowing about peacebuilding versus local knowledge, and how foreign approaches to peacebuilding in education actually get appropriated to perform locally specific functions.

The above efforts by institutions, international organizations, NGOs and individuals in response to the effects of war and conflict played a significant role in raising consciousness for an educational agenda aimed to promote peaceful coexistence and disrupt violent approaches to conflict. These efforts contributed to the formation of peace and conflict studies programs within Western universities. In the next sections, I elaborate on the development of peace and conflict studies as an academic field in colleges and universities in the US and Europe as a starting point to understanding the history of peace and conflict studies in higher education institutions in Africa.

Peace and Conflict Studies Program in Higher Education Institutions

Academic courses in peace and conflict studies in colleges and universities expanded rapidly following World War II. These courses were started with the aim to counter the discourse of war and promote global cooperation. Manchester College, in Indiana, established the first peace studies program in 1948. This was a liberal arts college that was sponsored by the Brethren Church to teach courses on peace and non-violent strategies to conflict resolution as a response to the events of the World War II (Harris et al., 1998; Pieper, 2008). At the same time, professors in universities in India were advocating for non-violent approaches to conflict resolution among the youth, as espoused by teachings of Mahatma Gandhi (Ment, 2005; Montessorri, 1949). A major development that pushed for the development of peace and conflict studies in HEIs was

the establishment of three institutes for peace research in 1959. These included the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan; the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in Norway; and the Lancaster Peace Research in Britain. Galtung, the co-founder of PRIO with Bert Rolling, was very active in advocating for conferences and research on peace and conflict and founded both the *Journal for Peace Research* and the *Bulletin of Peace Proposal* (Kurtz & Harris, 2008). The institutes received support from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an organization that was started during World War I to promote peace, and which, spearheaded the establishment of an International Consultative Committee for peace research under the leadership of Elise Boulding (Harris et al., 1998; Harris & Morrison, 2003). The institutes, with this support, collaborated to convene conferences, public debates on violence and strategic approaches to peacebuilding during the period from 1960-1980s. As a result of these efforts, the *International Peace Research Newsletter* was founded in 1963, followed by the establishment of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) in 1965, through which members convened meetings and conferences on peace, peace research and conflict studies.

Through the 1960s, peace and conflict studies became fully-fledged field of study across the world. During this period, there was also increased attention on the role of universities for peacebuilding in Africa, the Middle East and in western nations because of the increasing civil war in African states from Nigeria to Uganda, and also the US-Vietnam war (Harris et al., 1998). These efforts resulted in the first World Conference on the Role of Universities in the Quest for Peace, which took place in 1969 in Vienna. Scholars drawn from mainly western countries argued that universities have a role not

only in providing research that explains the causes of war and conflict, and that they must also take action that reduces systematic violence. The Universities and the Quest for Peace report stated:

> There is a particular kind of action which universities can take because of their crucial position as a breeding ground for new talent. We must organize our teaching, research, and curriculum so that not only the youth but the public at large are taught to work for peace and against war. (1970, p. 12)

The role of university-level peace and conflict studies as avenues for positive peace gained great attention in the 1970s and 1980s as scholars scrutinized the potential of interdisciplinary research on conflict, nuclear war, and global peace to provide solutions to violent conflict. Scholars from divergent disciplines, such as sociology, economics, law, psychology, education, mathematics, religion, and political science, started research to contribute to solutions to challenges of armed conflict to the human society (Melchin & Picard, 2008). This interdisciplinary approach to knowledge production about the causes of conflict and potential for transforming them characterizes the field of peace studies.

While this approach brings forth a diversity of knowledge and methods, it also poses three specific challenges. Firstly, there are questions as to whether there are existing fundamental principles of the field of peace and conflict studies as compared to disciplines like sociology, which focuses on social relations, the meanings that people assign to the interactions, as well as the conflicts that emerge from these social relations. Second, there is a tension in the relationship between theory and practice—whether scientific approaches to peace studies have a bearing on the actual process of conflict transformation. The final challenge emerges in relation to the use of local knowledge versus western knowledge in the formation of peace and conflict studies, especially when

foreign approaches contradict the traditional or indigenous methods of conflict resolution among communities. These three tensions suggest the need to examine the foundations of the field before asking questions about how peace and conflict studies programs are contextualized and perceived in different contexts and whether programs should have core principles that can apply in every context. The next section takes up these issues.

Foundations of Peace and Conflict Studies

According to Galtung (1996) peace studies is an applied social science that uses empirical, constructivist and critical approaches to understand the causes of violence and war as well as to promote peace. Galtung (1996) viewed peace as the absence/reduction of violence of all kinds; peace is nonviolent and creative conflict transformation. One of the core principles of peace and conflict studies is the view that peaceful approaches to conflict resolution are preferable to violent approaches (Galtung, 2012). Galtung viewed peace and conflict studies as instrumental to promoting social and political transformation in order to decrease direct and structural violence. He advocated for universities as sites for peacebuilding where faculty and researchers can dialogue on issues of peace and justice in order to stimulate consciousness and actions for constructive social change (Galtung, 1996).

As a field of study, peace and conflict studies is concerned with the causes of war and conflict, and the nature of violence (Harris, 2010). It also examines processes that can bring about positive social change through transformation of the society from unequal levels of relationships to harmonious human relations with peace and justice (Alger, 2007; Pieper, 2008). The field of peace and conflict studies has been described as multilevel because it studies violence and conflict at the individual level, among

groups and at the global level (Lopez, 1985). This makes peace and conflict studies different from other fields like international relations (IR), which focuses on the relationships between states at the international level (Roberts, 1987). In order to explore these diverse aspects of peace (intra-personal, interpersonal, between ethnic groups, across nations), peace and conflict studies adopts a multidisciplinary perspective drawing from sociology, history, psychology, anthropology, political science, and theology with the aim of applying various theories such as social network theory, human behavior theory, state relations theories and cultural related theories to understand conflict, violence and peacebuilding from the individual to the global level (Alger, 2007; Lopez, 1985). Pieper (2008) further asserted that peace studies focuses on the long-term conditions for peace such as the balance in the power structure, social and historical injustices, and value components that evaluates options for peace. Educators in peace and conflict studies programs hence have a task to "examine the values and beliefs that underlie various systems of war, peace and conflict" (p. 1536). Thus, peace and conflict studies can be characterized as a field of study that has a normative and analytic component with an inclination for making judgments about options for peace.

This normative approach to knowledge has made some scholars question the rationale for peace and conflict studies as a field of study. Dietrich (2013), for example, argued that peace studies programs do not have core principles that guide peacebuilding because of the multiple manifestations of peace that make it difficult to create a universal view of peace. However, other scholars support Galtung's view of peace and conflict studies an academic field of study (Arslan, Günçavdı, & Polat, 2015; Brock-Utne, 1995; Lopez, 1985). For example, Brunk (2012) asserted that disciplines are "defined by the

range of problems or the subject matter that they study" (p. 11). Because peace and conflict studies focus on the causes and the nature of war, conflict, violence, peace and human relations, the field has similar characteristics to those of traditional disciplines like psychology or sociology, although it also draws from this discipline in examining peace and conflict.

The concept of conflict in the field of peace and conflict studies is one area where there has been significant research not only to understand the nature of conflict, but also to transform conflict into sustainable human relations (Lederach, 2003). Many scholars perceive conflict as a natural phenomenon that can be utilized to bring about constructive social change (Galtung, 1969; Lederach, 1997; Schirch, 2005). Given the nature of human conflict, scholars in peace and conflict studies do not perceive conflict as something to be completely eradicated and replaced with peace, but they propose a continuous approach that utilizes non-violent approaches to conflict transformation (Boulding, 1989; Lederach, 2003). Boulding (1989) further asserted that some conflicts can "relatively peaceful" because they "do not result in direct violence" (K. Boulding, 1989, p. 462). This view supports the argument that conflicts are inevitable, and the roles of peacebuilders at all levels are to support mechanisms that can transform the negative or destructive nature of conflict to manageable levels that can transform conflict to desired human relations through the process of conflict transformation (Kriesberg, 1998; Lederach, 2003).

However, the inevitable nature of conflict means that conflict transformation is the responsibility of all members of society, organizations and institutions (Galtung, 1996). Educational institutions, faculty and students are envisioned as particularly

important actors in the process of peacebuilding, however, because they are in some cases perceived as perpetrators of conflict and negative ethnicity, which poses a challenge for how these important stakeholders construct notions of peace and lead conflict transformation. Some scholars view universities as central institutions that can increase the discourse of constructive conflict transformation and non-violent actions for social change through peace and conflict studies programs or through other non-formal programs aimed to raise consciousness for peace and justice (Galtung, 1996; Harris, 2010; Lederach, 1995).

In the next section, I discuss literature on approaches to peace and conflict studies within higher education institutions or what has been commonly referred to as peace education. While I recognize that different terminology may suggest differences in meanings (between peace and conflict studies and peace education), some scholars have used these terms interchangeably while others have tried to distinguish them (Alger, 2007). I use peace education broadly to incorporate all programs on peace and conflict, including studies in peace and human rights.

Approaches to PCS programs in Higher Education Institutions

The underlying belief in peace and conflict studies is that education can positively contribute to an increased understanding of conflict and violence and transformation of the individual, structures and cultural aspects that can promote peace at the personal, social and political levels (Eisler, 2004; Harris & Morrison, 2003; Lederach et al., 2007; Morrison, 2008). The aims of peace education are to cultivate among learners the knowledge, attitudes, skills, behaviors, and values that enhance a culture of peace. As a subject of study, the curriculum revolves around contemporary and historical problems,

ranging from social, economic, political and ethical issues to how to deal with such challenges through nonviolent social actions. Attention is given to the multiple manifestations of violence and conflict, and strategies for dealing with such problems.

The main responsibility of education in peace and conflict studies programs is to cultivate understanding and cooperation across different human divides, such as racial/ethnic/religious/ cultural and social-economic differences, and to promote social justice and human coexistence (Ragland, 2015). For this to happen, peace educators must attempt to create strategies that can enable their learners to collectively examine alternative strategies to violent conflict, and to imagine how to transform current realities of conflict into desired human conditions (Harris & Morrison, 2003; Smith, 2004). Put differently, the task in peace education is to create what some scholars call 'peace culture' or 'a culture of peace and nonviolence' (Boulding, 2008; Eisler, 2004).

The approaches to peace education within HEIs have taken different forms in dealing with the issues of peace, conflict, and violence. Haavelsrud (1996) identified four types of disarmament education that have been adopted in the field of peace education and peace and conflict studies (Bajaj, 2008b; Burns & Aspeslagh, 1983). These include the idealistic, intellectual, ideological, and the politicization/critical approaches. I will discuss these four categories because they capture a greater scholarly debate on both the theory and practice of peace education and peace and conflict studies, and how these debates influence approaches in the programming of peace and conflict learning institutions.

The first approach to peace and conflict is the idealistic concept, aligned with the UNESCO Constitution, which states that the starting point of war is in the minds of

individuals. Therefore, to counter violence and war, there is a need for peace education in all spheres of human interaction with the aim of changing individuals' minds and perceptions of war so that they value peace and justice (UNESCO, 1945). Lopez (1985) called this approach "a nonviolent values and lifestyle approach" to peace studies because it focuses on the "personal dimension and solutions" (p. 118). Thus, this approach favors teaching that violent approaches to conflict are futile and uses curricula that develops skills for conflict resolution. However, this approach assumes greater reliance on the individual level and pays little attention to structural issues that that cause conflict. Bajaj (2008b) further argued that the idealistic approach to peace education, which dominates many NGOs' approaches to peace education, is inadequate because it does not incorporate actions for systemic changes, which have greater influence on individual actions. Despite this limitation, the idealistic view shows the role of individuals as active agents in promoting peace, through changing their perceptions of war, attitudes, stereotypes and actions and communication (Lederach et al., 2007). These competencies are especially important in increasing intercultural communication and collaboration, which are significant in building relationships and transforming conflict (Goh, 2012).

The second approach to peace and conflict studies is the intellectual one, which advocates for the development of knowledge regarding issues of violence and peace through the university-based peace and conflict studies programs or peace education (Haavelsrud, 1996). This approach favors the teaching of types of conflict, the patterns of conflict cycles, the political and economic functions of conflict and war, the rationales for the occurrence of conflict, and the means of dealing with conflict ranging from peacekeeping to peacebuilding as well as diplomatic strategies including the use of

economic sanctions. Lopez (1985) calls this approach "a war/ peace systems approach" because it is concerned with the structure and operation of conflict and war as well as the "current world order" (p. 118).

This approach has been criticized for often taking a pluralistic perspective on conflict and peace as a strategy aimed to enable the peace and conflict studies content to be accepted by political actors (Bajaj, 2008b). The intellectual approach is also a universal approach to conflict with the aim to draw generalizations on the drivers of conflict and patterns of conflict, often inter-state conflict (Lopez, 1985). Haavelsrud argued that the intellectual approach to research on peace education or peace studies assumes a universal and neutral view that is, however, fraught with contradictions because it does not pay attention to how knowledge of local situations can lead to reflection and strategies for action and change. Haavelsrud's critique of the intellectual approach is consistent with the constructivist perspective of Lederach (1995) and Kriesberg (1998), who advocate for culturally and contextually-informed approaches to the understanding of the multiple manifestations of conflict and violence from the individual level to the state and international level.

The third approach to peace and conflict studies is the ideological. This approach, according to Haavelsrud (1996), is grounded in a neo-Marxist perspective of schooling where schools are viewed as tools that reproduce social advantage for the dominant classes. These views are consistent with the idea of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), who argued that schools, through the formal and hidden curriculum, continue to privilege the interests, cultures, values and ideas of the ruling classes. This is achieved in multiple

ways but particularly through strict examinations systems that favor upper-class students under the guise of meritocracy.

According to the ideological perspective, educational institutions embody various aspects of both physical and symbolic violence, and social inequality, because they are founded on structures and policies that disenfranchise minority groups, promote the culture and language of the ruling classes, or provide advantage to some ethnic groups over others in the selection of students or award of scholarships (Jordaan & Wiese, 2009; Munene, 2012). Therefore, schools cannot be trusted to provide an alternative discourse or vision for change (Harber, 2004). As a result, the ideological proponents argue that true peace education or peace studies programs can only happen outside of the formal system of education. They call for programs like *Seed of Peace* or *Peace Unit Programs,* which focus on advocacy for peace and conflict transformation among youth outside of the formal academic institutions. However, the ideological approach fails to recognize that educational institutions are situated within the complex social and political process of the society and cannot abstracted (Giroux, 1988). Therefore, the focus should be to provide academic courses and teaching approaches that can provide alternative discourses that help students understand that educational institutions are not neutral and free from social cultural reproduction and structural violence.

The fourth approach, the politicization or critical approach (Haavelsrud, 1996), locates schools within the wider social context and calls for a close link between research, education and action in the quest for conflict transformation (Haavelsrud, 1996). Other scholars view this approach as “the futuristic or world order approach” (Lopez, 1985, p. 118), because its aim is to transform the undesired aspects of conflict

and war, and provide an alternative system to ensure sustainable peace. For example, the politicization approach favors an integration of theory and practice, where students and faculty are actively involved in building relationships with other stakeholders and actors in order to generate a concerted effort for peacebuilding. This politicization or critical approach also concurs with Freire's (1970) view of education as a process that should raise students' critical consciousness about systems of oppression and violence and should inform action toward peace and justice.

In contrast with the ideological perspective, the politicization approach views schools and non-formal educational institutions of all levels as potential sites that can foster conflict transformation, reflection and actions that can disrupt its causes like inter-ethnic tensions and structural violence at all levels of society. Bajaj (2008a, 2014), for example, argued that the political approach to peace and conflict studies is promising because it pays attention to action for peacebuilding through a deep understanding of the local realities and complexity. Furthermore, Bajaj (2008a) showed that while learning about conflict and peace is relevant, cultivating agency among students is more important because it offers an avenue for liberation from oppressive structural inequalities. Other scholars like Giroux (2009) viewed this approach as transformative because it provides the linkage between theory (knowledge) and action/ engagement. In other words, teaching about peace and conflict should not only foster critical thinking about the issues of violence and conflict around the world, but it should also enable participants—students and educators—to use their capabilities as social agents and activists in order to disrupt causes and drivers of issues affecting the society.

Diaz-Soto (2005) expanded on Freire's view of consciousness raising by suggesting that peace education should raise awareness in what she calls "border crossing, decolonization, inclusion equitable economic distribution and a reliance on love as a paradigm" (p. 96). These ideas are consistent with Bajaj's (2008a) view that critical peace studies must pay attention to the existing power dynamics among the social classes, identity in regard to ethnic, racial and linguistic differences and culture. She argued that peace education should be grounded in the realities of the local context and should make learners become agents of social change. This includes the use of internships in peace and conflict studies for learners to apply their skills in peacebuilding. Bajaj (2014) applied Freirean ideas to critical peace education and argued that educators have a responsibility to create a form of "critical optimism among students that is aimed at promoting solidarity and diminishing the distance between social groups irrespective of the differences of race, ethnicity, religion, or social class" (p. 3). This politicization/critical approach, however, place a lot of emphasis on human action, on what can be considered as activism, yet this approach can also be counterproductive and result in violent conflict (Gur Ze'ev, 2001). For example, the critical or polarization approach has been viewed as creating radical youth who use violence in the calls for action for peace in regions like Israel-Palestine.

Studies on critical or politicization approaches to peace and conflict have mainly been discussed under *peace education*, and this is important because it brings attention not only to the individual dimension of peacebuilding, but also to the importance of advocating for the role of individual and collective actions for peace (Bajaj, 2015). Because of the relevance of the critical perspective to this study, I believe that the critical

and politicization approach can be borrowed to examine the ways that peace and conflict studies programs and designed and conceptualized to promote constructive social change or conflict transformation. In particular, critical perspectives to peace education, which emphasize the need to localize and contextualize peace education approaches and the need for enhancing a sense of agency for social change, are concepts that can help clarify how Kenyan universities' peace studies programs are designed to promote transformative actions against negative ethnicity and conflict.

Summary of the Review and Gaps in the Literature

Educators and peace studies scholars acknowledge the ambivalent role of education processes as one that can develop knowledge and skills necessary for peace, but to some extent maintain social inequalities and violence (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004). The field of peace education seeks to develop theories, research and processes that enable individuals to formally or informally learn about conflict and work towards peace (Galtung, 1990, 2008; Kurtz & Harris, 2008; Reardon, 1988). Peace education curricula explore theories of violence, conflict patterns and approaches to conflict transformation with an emphasis on non-violent action (Galtung, 2008). However, some peace scholars and educators have faulted peace education for its normative and universalized conception of peace as one that misses to highlight the complexity of meanings of peace, the diverse local actors' experiences and the unequal power structures within organizations, schools and societies (Bajaj, 2008a; Brantmeier, 2011; Diaz-Soto, 2005). Critical peace education (CPE) emerged in an attempt to address these critiques and has developed its tenets to become an alternative field that has gained traction in recent scholarship in peace and conflict education. Yet, there are still too few

studies on how these critical methods are interpreted and implemented within PCS in different context as well as their limitations.

In this chapter, I showed that although scholars acknowledge the role of education in peacebuilding, much of the literature has focused on peace education especially in primary and secondary levels. Research on the role of higher education and peacebuilding is scarce, especially studies on how university-based peace and conflict programs function for peacebuilding in different post-conflict settings. There are significant questions in regard to administrators, faculty, and student conceptions of peace, for example, and their views on higher education and peacebuilding. Moreover, there is a need to understand how PCS programs are designed and implemented for peacebuilding in non-Western societies. Kenyan higher education institutions provide a good opportunity to analyze these issues given the national and regional drive for universities to respond to challenges of peace and security.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

In Chapter Two, I examined the state of the literature on conceptions of peace and peacebuilding, intersections of education and peacebuilding and peace and conflict studies programs. I also discussed peace education in Africa, and particularly in Kenya, and approaches to teaching peace studies. I revealed the inadequate representation of non-Western views on peace and limited scholarship on higher education and peacebuilding, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. I maintained that the understandings of peace and approaches to peacebuilding through higher education institutions in an African context can create the possibility to reflect on the role of local knowledge for peace and sustainability and the broader role of universities in societies affected by social tensions. Thus, in this chapter, I present the research design and methodology that I utilized to examine meanings of peace and approaches to peacebuilding through PCS programs in two Kenyan universities. The chapter starts by discussing the justifications for a qualitative approach to the study. This is followed by a review of the comparative case study design that this qualitative study utilized. I discuss methods of data collection, data analysis, the research timeline, research ethics, my motivations and limitations of the study.

A Qualitative Approach to the Study of PCS Programs

This study was informed by a constructivist/interpretivist epistemological paradigm that views reality as socially constructed (Denzin and Lincoln 1998; Crotty 1998;). I paid attention to how individuals make sense of concepts of peace and their perspectives regarding their choices of teaching in case of faculty or their experiences in

the programs. I believe their perspectives and experiences matter as a way of knowing about complex phenomena such as peace. Furthermore, I assume that one can examine the socially constructed nature of reality, including reflecting on one's own relationship to the community of study, while still being critical of the limitations of the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). As such, the research findings of this study are a product of co-construction of meanings from me, the researcher, and from the different respondents whom I interviewed and observed.

The study further utilized qualitative methods. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) observed that qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. I used qualitative methods because they are the most effective for examining socially-constructed understandings of peace, the lived experiences of participants, faculty teaching approaches and students' experiences in PCS programs. These methods enable a researcher to tease out multiple understandings of meanings and perspectives that emerge from the lived experiences of participants. As such, the methods of interviewing, document analysis, and participant observation were utilized at both universities to enable a comparison of them.

The Comparative Case Study Approach

A case study typically focuses on a specific instance or institution to illustrate a more general principle (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). Other scholars have suggested that case study research enables one to answer the *how* and *why* questions while taking into consideration how a phenomenon is shaped by the context within which it is situated (Baxter & Jack, 2008). According to Yin (2009), a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its

real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 18). Yin further asserted that case studies are employed to understand complex social phenomena and to allow a "holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life-events" (p. 2), which are often supported by multiple methods of seeking evidence. Merriam (Merriam, 1998) made similar observations in defining a "case" as "a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries" (p. 27).

Recent scholarships in covering comparative studies in education by Bartlett and Vavrus on the comparative case study approach called attention to "macro, meso, and micro levels, or scales" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 131), as well as analyses of context and cultural processes within a case study design, countering the traditional conception of context within a case as one that was bounded (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). These two scholars have suggested the need for multiple levels of analysis, which is the essence of the comparative element in their case study approach: the horizontal level, which compares how similar educational policies manifest in specific/distinct locations; the vertical level, which looks at local, national, and/or international relations; and the transversal analysis that illuminates the ways that policies and/or practices have been established and appropriated, or modified, over time (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009).

This study was informed by the above perspectives on qualitative case study design, particularly the works of Bartlett and Vavrus (2014, 2017) in its research design and data analysis. The comparative cases were the two universities, Amani University and Umoja University. I engaged in a horizontal comparison between campus life and initiatives for peace through PCS programs at these two institutions; the vertical

comparison considered university-level conceptions of peace in relation to those of national policymakers and students, and how these views were shaped by international actors who were supporting the two programs; and the transversal axis traced the history of conflict and peace in Kenya, the intersection of university and national peacebuilding processes, and the emergence of PCS programs in Kenya, specifically of the two focal programs. This approach allowed me to pay attention to multiple rationales for supporting or engaging in PCS programs, various conceptions of peace, and the university role in peacebuilding by various participants.

At the time of this study, Kenya had about 50 accredited colleges and universities categorized broadly as either public or private.[13].Further distinctions of HEIs in the country are made based on the type of license or accreditation they hold (CUE, 2015). As of 2015, there were 23 public universities, 10 public university constituent colleges, 17 private universities, five private universities constituent colleges, 14 institutions with an interim letter of authority, and one registered private institution (CUE, 2015). At the time of the study, over 30 PCS programs were being offered in the country's universities, colleges and institutes. These programs range from certificate level (three months), diploma (one-two years), bachelor's degrees (three-four years), and master's (one-two years) and PhD programs (minimum three years) (CUE, 2016). For the purpose of this study, I considered PCS programs in universities that were recognized as fully-fledged or accredited by CUE. The Commission for University Education (CUE) is a government

[13] In the appendix section, I have provided a map of Kenya with major cities to show the distribution of HEIs. The appendix also has a full list of all universities in Kenya, and a list of universities offering PCS programs.

corporation that ensures quality assurance in HEIs in Kenya. In addition, CUE is the only mandated body that accredits universities and university academic programs in Kenya.

I selected Umoja University, a public institution, and Amani University, a private university, following pre-dissertation exploratory fieldwork in December 2015. As noted in Chapter One, the names Umoja and Amani are pseudonyms I created for the two institutions for purposes of confidentiality. In the exploratory study, I interviewed four faculty members from four universities, five students and one national official. The interviews helped me to map the various PCS programs in the country and also create initial contact with potential study participants. However, during the actual fieldwork, I experienced non-cooperation from the administration of one of the three possible universities in regard to providing internal approval for their institution to be part of the study. For this reason, I made new contacts with Amani University, a private religious university which became my second institution. This second institution had similar characteristics as the earlier one I was considering except for the differences in the religious denomination and philosophies guiding their approaches to higher education. I discuss these two universities extensively in Chapter Four. Overall, Amani University and Umoja University were among the pioneers in establishing PCS programs in Kenya. These two institutions also exhibited an academic outlook that reflected the broader higher education context in the country aspects, which I elaborate in Chapter Four.

Research Questions

My overall aim of the study was to understand conceptions of peace and peacebuilding and the ways that PCS courses were designed for peacebuilding in Kenya. To review the questions stated in Chapter One, the guiding question was: How are

university-based peace and conflict studies programs conceptualized, perceived and implemented for peacebuilding in Kenya? This major question was further explored in the following sub-questions:

1. How do university administrators, faculty, students and national officials view the role of universities in peacebuilding in Kenya?
    a) What are the institutional rationales for establishing PCS programs and how they relate to literature on education and peacebuilding?
2. How do university faculty, students and administrators involved in peace and conflict studies programs conceptualize and enact peacebuilding in Kenyan universities?
    a) How do these conceptions align with literature on education and peacebuilding?
    b) How do these conceptions relate to those of national stakeholders,[14]students in PCS programs and those in the scholarly literature about peace?
3. How do faculty design and teach in PCS programs for peacebuilding in Kenyan universities?
    a) How, if at all, do PCS faculty draw on *peace knowledge* in their teaching?
4. What are the students' perceptions of their experiences in PCS programs and their relations to peacebuilding?

[14] National stakeholders refer to individuals at the Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) and National Commission and Integration Commission (NCIC) who are involved in policies on peace education and national healing and reconciliation in the country.

The first question examined the views and rationales for PCS programs among top university administrators, such as Vice Chancellors, Deans of Students, Directors of Peace Studies Institutes and Head of Departments. These high-level university managers are major stakeholders in the higher education process because they were involved in making major decisions, such as the ratification of university programs, establishing academic linkages with other universities abroad and allocating funding to departments. These decisions had implications for research, teaching and community service for their institutions, including the formation of PCS programs. Moreover, in Kenya, university chancellors, principals of schools, deans, and program heads also interact with national-level policy makers as implementers of national education policy and government advisers (Oanda, Chege, & Wesonga, 2008). As such, this group of people formed a middle group between the national-level officials and local communities through their interactions with students.

While the majority of the study participants were faculty, administrators and students at UU and AU, in order to gain a richer understanding of the problematic, I also interviewed a category of participants that I labeled as *national officials.* This category included senior personnel in the Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) and National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC). These national officials at MoEST were critical players in educational policy formulation and approval of academic programs including the formations of national peace education policy (MoEST, 2008;2014) and ratification of university curriculum. The national officials at NCIC were responsible for maintaining peace by handling inter-ethnic conflict and monitoring triggers to violence. Through interviews and a review of secondary materials

like peace education syllabus, national policy documents on peace education and newspapers, I sought to understand how these national officials understood peace and the role of universities in peacebuilding, I then compared their views with those of university-level participants. Overall, the first question aimed at understanding the views of the network of individuals who were responsible in the policy making process or actual implementation of peace education or PCS programs in the country and particularly at the university level.

The second question explored faculty, students and university administrators' conceptions of peace and peacebuilding, and how faculty designed PCS programs for peacebuilding. I further explored whether faculty in PCS programs utilized *peace knowledge* in their teaching and implementation of peace studies programs. Peace knowledge, which I introduced in Chapter One, refers to a region's ways of knowing about peace that is necessary for its own creation of a culture of peace (Wisler, 2010). I also asked similar questions to students, administrators and national officials to generate a wider understanding and comparison of views about peace and peacebuilding within universities and by officials outside of the university.

The third question further examined faculty approaches to curriculum design and teaching in PCS programs. I analyzed how faculty designed and taught in peace and conflict and if at all they utilized their local knowledge about peace in teaching. Here I interviewed administrators and faculty about their PCS curriculum, their teaching approaches and attended classrooms and outreach events to do participants observations to understand their teaching approaches as well as the overall campus life. The fourth question focused on students' rationales for studying peace and conflict and their

experiences in these courses as well as their perspectives of peace and conflict. Moreover, the third question examined students' views on their experiences in PCS programs to understand how students' experiences related to the aims of conflict transformation.

Methods of Data Collection and Timeline

The primary methods of data collection were semi-structured interviews, participant observations and document review. These multiple methods and sources of data were adopted to provide a holistic and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of peace, approaches to peace and conflict education and the overall role of universities in building peace or fomenting conflict in Kenya.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the primary method of data collection. Mishler (1986) suggested that an interview is a form of discourse that is shaped and organized through the process of asking and answering questions. According to Bernard (2002), a semi-structured interview is "a structured activity" that is "open ended but has a general script and covers a list of topics" (p. 203). I employed a semi-structured interview guide for the data collection across all the study participants: university administrators, faculty, and students in PCS programs at AU and UU and with officials from MoEST and NCIC. I selected research participants in the semi-structured interviews through a purposeful sampling technique. According to Merriam and Simpson (1984), "sampling [is a process of identifying] subjects or events for a study in a systematic way" (p. 54). Palys (2008) further claimed that in purposeful sampling, the researcher views sampling as "a series of strategic choices about with whom, where, and how" (p. 697) the researcher approaches

the study based on the context. These views were shared by Patton (2002), who asserted that "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting "*information-rich cases*" that enable the researcher to "learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry" (pp. 230-231).

Through purposive sampling, I selected a diverse group of participants that were representative of the population of study but also had positions that had implications on university policies on peace and conflict to the research questions. For faculty participants in both sites, I considered levels of education, length of teaching in the PCS programs, position in the department and their gender. I interviewed program coordinators and directors or heads of departments in each program because they were the first person of contact and some of them were founding faculty members in the PCS programs. For administrators, I based my selection on the degree of influence regarding academic programs in their respective institutions. In the same way, I identified national officials based on their direct or indirect involvement in policy formulation or oversight on education and peace education or their overall involvement in the peace processes in the country. Finally, students in the PCS programs were selected based on their levels of study and my effort to obtain gender parity among my participants. However, there were generally more male participants in all categories, which paralleled the actual gender representations in each cluster. I also interviewed one alumni of the AU diploma program and two students in the Masters in Peace Education program at Umoja University. The Masters in Peace Education, which was offered through an online platform, is the first in the country. This MA option was established with the hope to develop capacity for peace educators in Kenyan schools. I stopped doing further interviewees after I reached what

Small (2009) referred to as the saturation point, a point when the information I had received covered sufficient depth in full range, and I was not receiving new information from respondents. In the following section, I provide table summaries of study participants.

University Administrators and National Officials

A total of five administrators and four national officials were interviewed face-to-face. I further analyzed an hour-long media interview of two national officials who featured in a national TV prime time interview on the state of peace and security. In the table, I deliberately grouped together administrators from AU and UU because categorizing them by their affiliated universities might compromise their confidentiality considering their distinctive roles in their respective institutions.

Table 1. 1 National Officials and Administrators

Gender	Status	Position/Institution	Interview
M	Administrator	Deputy-Vice Chancellor	x
M	Administrator	Dean of Students	x
M	Administrator	Principal of the College	x
F	Administrator	Head of Department	x
M	Administrator	Director, Peace Institute	x
F	National Official	MoEST (Peace Education)	Media Analysis
M	National Official	MoEST (Higher Education)	x
F	National Official	MoEST (Curriculum and Development)	x

M	National Official	NCIC (Oversight)	Media Analysis
M	National Official	NCIC (Oversight)	X

Faculty Respondents at Amani University (AU)

At Amani University, I interviewed nine faculty out of the regular 15 faculty in the peace and conflict studies programs. Two of these professors were part of the founding leadership of the PCS programs at this institution and one was a director of the PCS programs at this institution. Two of the faculties had full-time teaching appointments at Umoja University but also had part-time appointments at Amani University. Follow-up interviews in this chart refers to addition interview (second interviews) with same faculty after my initial analysis to check on the themes that were emerging.

Table 1. 2 Faculty Participants at Amani University

Gender	Highest Degree	Status	Interview	Class/ Outreach Observation	Follow-Up
Male	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		x
Female	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		
Male	Doctorate	Part-Time	x		
Male	Doctorate	Full-Time	x	x	
Male	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		
Male	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		x
Male	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		

Male	Doctorate	Full-Time	x	x	
Female	Doctorate	Part-Time	x		

Summary of Faculty Profile at Umoja University

A total of twelve faculty were interviewed at Umoja University out of over 30 faculty affiliated with the PCS program.

Table 1. 3 Faculty Participants, Umoja University

Gender	Highest Degree	Employment	Interview	Observation	Follow-Up
F	Doctorate	HOD; Full-time	x		
F	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		
F	Doctorate	Full-Time	x	x	
M	Doctorate	Full-Time Also teaches at AU	x	x	
M	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		x
M	Masters	Full-Time	x		
M	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		
M	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		

M	Doctorate	Full-Time	x		
M	Masters	Full-Time	x		
F	Doctorate	Part-Time	x		
M	Doctorate	Part-Time	x		

Student Respondents at Amani University and Umoja University

Fourteen students were interviewed at Amani University and 11 at Umoja University in addition to one alumnus from Amani and two master's students in peace education students from Umoja. The students learned about this study first through a communication from their program coordinators. I reached out to students during classroom participations to ask for their participation while considering gender parity, level of study, degree major and ethnic diversity.

Table 1. 4 Student Participants, Amani University

Gender	Major Subject	Level of Study	Status
M	Peace and Justice	Diploma	Full-Time
M	Peace and Justice	Diploma	Full-Time
M	Peace and Justice	Bachelors	Full-Time
F	Peace and Justice	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Peace and Justice	Bachelors	Police Officer
M	Peace and Justice	Diploma	Journalist
M	Conflict Resolution	Diploma	School Principal

F	Conflict Resolution	Diploma	Full-Time
M	Leadership and management	Certificate	Religious Leader
F	Peace and Justice	Bachelors	Full-Time
F	Peace and Justice	Bachelors	Full-Time
F	Peace and Justice	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Peace and Justice	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Conflict Resolution	Certificate	Full-Time
M	Healing & Reconciliation	Bachelors	Alumni

Table 1. 5 Student Participants, Umoja University

Gender	Major Subject	Level of Study	Status
M	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
F	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
F	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time

F	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
F	Conflict and Peace studies	Bachelors	Full-Time
M	Peace Education	Masters	NGO/Officer
M	Peace Education	Masters	Teacher

Participant Observation

The second method of data collection was participant observation. According to Spradley (1980), participant observation enables the researcher to "engage in activities that are appropriate to the situation and observe the activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation" (p. 54). I adopted this method of data collection to increase the sources of data in addition to semi-structured interviews as well as continue the process of data analysis while doing fieldwork. Bernard (2002) asserted that "when done right, participant observation turns fieldwork into instruments of data collection and data analysis" (p. 324). I employed participant observation in classrooms, on campus and in outreach events to gain access to the tacit understandings and *theory in use* of faculty and student approaches to peacebuilding. For example, I utilized participant observation techniques to observe faculty teaching PCS courses as well as in out-of-campus interactions with community-level partners. I looked at *what* they taught (including their application of peace knowledge), *how* they taught their content (whether this included critical pedagogy) and made follow-up interviews to gain explanations after these classes about *why* they structured the classes in these ways. I also observed students in outreach initiatives and made follow-up interviews to get their interpretations of content and pedagogy in their PCS classes compared to other classes they take. Participant

observation method enabled me to use my experiences with research participants as instruments in analysis and interpretation of the issues under investigation.

Maxwell (2013) equally contended that observation can enable the researcher to "draw inferences about someone's meaning and perspectives that couldn't be obtained by relying exclusively on interview data" (p. 76). In my case observing on/off campus initiatives enabled me to construct understandings of critical information about university context, the nature of programs and resources and interactions between faculty and students' aspects that interviewees did not want to share in the spoken interview. Although some scholars have pointed out that participant observation can negatively influence participants' responses and behavior because an outsider presence can alter respondents' natural way of interactions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Yin, 2009), my long-term presence in the research site resulted in familiarity, relationship and trust with participants.

Document Analysis

Document analysis formed the third method for this study. I analyzed a total of six class syllabi and three PCS studies curricula as well as interview notes about the syllabi with the faculty members in the PCS studies programs. I also examined national policy documents on peace education in Kenya, particularly the Sector-Wide Peace Education Policy (2008-2014) and newspaper articles that featured issues related to education and peace during fieldwork. I further analyzed departmental mission statements of the selected PCS programs to understand underlying rationales and philosophies for institutional engagements in peacebuilding. The choice of local newspapers as sources of data was deliberate because as Harber (1997) observed,

"national newspapers in Africa not only deal with educational issues, but they also deal with events in particular schools" (p. 116). For example, local newspapers in Kenya offered extensive coverage of the Garissa University College terrorist attack (Lubanga, 2016); student unrest and violence at the University of Nairobi (Merab, Ongiri, Mutanu, & Karanja, 2015; Ombati, 2016); and student violence and deaths in Maseno University, Eldoret University, and Narok University and ethnic influences in appointments of university administrators (Kimuge & Kipsang, 2015; Muiruru, 2009; The Daily Nation, 2015; Wanzala, 2017).

This secondary data analysis entailed searching for specific terms in the PCS programs course syllabus, newspapers, media interviews and policy documents. In doing so, I traced contextual references, frequency and meanings of concepts, events and their relation to education and peacebuilding processes. I searched for words such as such as *peace, peace education, conflict, culture, ethnicity, dialogue, education, universities, teaching, violence, riot, strike, Amani, cohesion, higher education and teaching*. These analyses of secondary documents not only supplemented the information I had received in interviews, but also in some cases the themes that emerged from secondary data formed a guide for follow up in oral interviews. The table below provides summaries of research questions, sources of data and methods of data collection.

Table 1. 6 Sources of Data

Research Question	**Focus**	**Methods and data source**

What are national stakeholders' rationales for establishing peace and conflict studies programs in Kenyan universities?	- Rationales for PCS programs in HEIs -Perceptions of the role of Kenyan universities in peacebuilding -National policies on higher education and peacebuilding in Kenya -History of PCS in Kenya -Establish levels of regional or international partnerships	-**Interviews** with MOE officials in Kenya -**Textual analysis** of national policy documents on peace education in Kenya -Media interview review
What are administrators' rationales for establishing and/or supporting PCS programs at their universities?	-Rationales for establishment of the PCS programs -Perceptions of PCS programs with HEIs -Perceptions of the role of Kenyan universities in peacebuilding -Establish levels partnerships, national, regional or international	-**Interviews** with senior university administrators at Amani University and Umoja University

How do university faculty members conceptualize and enact peacebuilding in Kenyan universities?	-Faculty members conceptions of rationales for PCS programs -faculty members conceptualization of peacebuilding and teaching approaches in PCS programs -Rationales for faculty members engagement in PCS programs -Faculty members perceptions of students' experiences in PCS programs	-**Interviews** with faculty members in PCS programs -**Participant observation:** Classroom/outreach observations notes in PCS programs -**Textual analysis** of PCS program syllabi for content/themes
How do students in PCS programs experience these programs and seek to enact peacebuilding at the university and in other contexts?	-Students experiences in PCS programs and interactions in the two universities -Students perceptions of PCS programs - Students' perceptions of their experiences in peace actions on campus	-**Interviews** with students in PCS programs -**Participant observation:** -Classrooms observation of students' engagements -Observation of students' campus interactions in peace actions (speaker series,

		seminars, and other peace initiatives). -**Textual analysis** of daily newspapers on university culture and student interactions
What are students' rationales for enrolling in PCS programs?	- Rationales for studying PCS program and career trajectory -Students career aspirations after graduation from PCS programs	**Interviews** with students in PCS programs

Data Analysis

The review and analysis of interview transcripts, participant observation notes and secondary textual material was done concurrently during fieldwork and after fieldwork. Glaser and Strauss (1967) noted that a progressive analysis of interview transcripts and field notes enables the researcher to gain a *theoretical sensitivity*, the awareness of the meaning of data as it relates to the existing literature, personal experiences, or professional experiences. I mostly employed the use of daily journaling, memos and coding of major thematic categories. Reflective journaling also enabled me to monitor emerging trends and themes. Miles and Huberman (1994) asserted that "coding is analysis" that includes "review of a set of field notes, transcribed or synthesized, and to

dissect them meaningfully, while keeping the relations between the parts intact, is the stuff of analysis" (p. 56).

Miles and Huberman further suggested the need for both inductive and deductive coding where the researcher develops a list of codes before fieldwork and then refines these codes based on the outcomes of the data. I developed a list of preliminary codes for each question (listed in the table below). These codes were based broadly on literature on education and peacebuilding and partly from the pre-dissertation fieldwork that enabled me to collect some PCS syllabi, course materials, and interviews with some faculty in PCS program in Kenya. I refined and expanded codes following the emergence of new themes during the interviewing, data transcription and analysis. These themes related to broad questions on rationales for PCS, conceptions of peace, and peace knowledge and critical pedagogy. I read interview transcripts and primary and secondary materials several times to identify patterns and themes that cut across the data as well as examples that contradicted the overarching themes across institutions and participants. In the later references to quotes from participants or from documents, I italicize words, phrases and sentences that illuminated or exemplified ideas or themes that I established during data analysis. The table below provides summaries of research questions, interview questions and analysis codes.

Table 1. 7 Research Questions and Codes

Research question	**Broad interview questions**	**NVIVO code categories**
What are national stakeholders' rationales for	What are the rationales for establishing PCS programs?	-Awareness of conflict -Develop conflict transformation skills

establishing peace and conflict studies programs in Kenyan universities?	What are the philosophical underpinnings that guide PCS programs? What are the intended outcomes for PCS programs?	-Future peace educators, faculty members and program staff
	What (if any) partnerships exist among local, regional or international institutions as pertains the PCS programs implementation in Kenyan HEIs?	-Establish flow of ideas about peace and conflict -Local adaptations of peace curriculum and policies
	What is the role of universities in mitigating conflict in Kenya?	-Promote social cohesion and diversity -Research on conflict and peace -Direct mitigation in conflict
	What are the national peace education policy frameworks for HEIs?	-The peace education policy in Kenya
How do university faculty members and administrators	What are administrators' rationales for establishing and/or supporting PCS programs at their universities?	-Demand for future peace educators

conceptualize and enact peacebuilding in Kenyan universities?		-Response challenges of conflict in the country
	How would you describe the perfect outcomes of the PCS programs?	-Platform for social change
	How would you describe your perceptions of PCS programs in Kenyan universities?	-Perception of PCS programs in relation to other courses at the university*
	How did you choose to become a faculty member in PCS programs?	-Professional expertise -Related field -Job opportunity -Impact on society
	What kind of partnerships exist local, regional, and international in regard to implementation of PCS programs at this university?	-Establish flow of ideas about peace and conflict -Local adaptations of peace curriculum and policies
How do **faculty members** conceptualize and approach	How do you describe what peacebuilding is to your students?	-Behavior changes -Relationships building -Non-Violence -Conflict resolution.

peacebuilding in Kenyan universities?	What is the nature of work that some of your alumni students do?	-Non-peacebuilding related -Peacebuilding related
How, if at all, do PCS faculty members draw on *peace knowledge* in their teaching?	How are the PCS programs different from other courses on campus?	-Experiential -Social justice orientation
	How would you describe students' experiences in the PCS throughout the course?	-Transformative/ non-transformative
	What changes if any have you noticed among students in PCSP?	-Behavioral changes -Levels of awareness about causes conflict and enablers of peace
How do **students** in PCS programs conceptualize their experiences in these programs in relation to ongoing conflict and	What factors informed your choices for the peace and conflict studies program?	-Course eligibility -Need for university degree -Career in peacebuilding -Cost of the program
	How would you describe your experiences in the peace and conflict studies program?	-Learning relationship building -Awareness of conflict and peace

peacebuilding efforts in the country?	How do the peace and conflict studies program differ from other courses on campus?	-Experiential learning -Social justice component
	How do students perceive peace and conflict studies as an academic course?	-Level of importance to the courses or program to their career trajectory
How do students in PCS programs experience these programs and seek to enact peacebuilding at the university and in other contexts?	How has your participation in peace and conflict studies program influenced your perceptions of peace and conflict in Kenya?	-Awareness of causes/drivers of conflict -Individual role as peacebuilder
	How do you relate with students from different ethnic/racial/ religious view-points?	-Good interaction across differences -Strained relationships
	What skills if any have you gained as a result of your participation in this program?	-Conflict analysis -Dispute resolution -Social mobilization
	What do you hope to do after your studies in peace and conflict studies program?	-Peacebuilding related career -Non-peacebuilding related career/content/ experience

My analysis of data (interviews, class observation notes, and primary documents) involved examining meanings of concepts and words that participants used to discuss or describe peace and conflict, teaching approaches or peace curriculum to subsequently generate patterns and themes. I also paid attention to participants expression and interpretations that linked cultural practices or processes to peace and conflict in Kenya. In doing so, I must state from this onset, I did not place judgement on merits or demerits of participants' views of peace. Rather, I aimed to generate insights about their understandings of peace and peacebuilding and how their views related to broad discussions of peace in the nation and those of existing literature. This was also the case in my analysis of the teaching approaches and curriculum design as a tool to understand faculty members approaches to peacebuilding and not an evaluation the merits or demerits of their teaching.

Ethical Standards

This study was conducted after securing necessary research permits and approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Minnesota (UMN) and a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation in Kenya (NACOSTI).[15] Participation in this research project was completely voluntary, and all respondents signed an informed consent form as well as an oral acceptance before they were interviewed. In addition, prior communications and approval was sought from

[15] The commission (NACOSTI) was established in 2013 through an Act of Parliament to regulate and accredit all research in Kenya.

faculty members before participant observations in lecture rooms and outreach events. The majority of interviewees considered their views on peace, ethnicity and conflict in Kenya as sensitive information and sought anonymity. I acknowledged that any research can yield harm and unintended outcomes (Cohen et al., 2011; Denscombe, 2014) and made conscious efforts to mitigate unforeseen risks to the two institutions and research participants by creating pseudonyms and codes for participants, research institutions and outreach centers. Similarly, all interview transcripts were de-identified, coded and stored in a password protected computer file. Moreover, I utilized continuous reflective journaling and *member checks*— a process of verifying findings with a section of key study informants (Maxwell, 2013) to ensure that unintended biases and potential harm to the participants and researcher were eliminated.

Representation and validity

Yin (2009) noted that the quality of any given study can be judged based on validity: the "trustworthiness, credibility, confirmability and data dependability" of the researcher and the study itself (p. 40). Maxwell (2013) defined validity as "the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation or interpretation" (p. 87). Maxwell further emphasized the importance of ruling out validity threats, by which he meant any "particular plausible alternative for the interpretations and explanation" (p. 89). My data analysis entailed interpretation of participants' meanings and conceptions about peace and approaches to PCS programs at the two foci institutions. These processes of co-construction and interpretation required me to consider my positionality or situatedness as well as employ strategies to limit bias in my interpretations and analysis stages that I discuss below.

I adopted multiple methods of data collection illustrated in previous sections to establish a chain of evidence from different sources. This approach, often referred to as methodological triangulation, was chosen because it allowed "multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation" (Stake, 2000, pp. 443–444). Stake further articulated that "acknowledging that no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable, triangulation serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen" (p. 444). Furthermore, validity and trustworthiness in this study were enhanced through a member check process. I continuously shared preliminary findings with two faculty members, and an alumnus for review who provided me feedback on the veracity of my interpretation and representation of research findings.

I also reflected on representation for this study in regard to my positionality as an insider-outsider. While my own academic and lived experiences in Kenya brought expertise to the subject of education violence, ethnicity and peacebuilding in the country, I was fully cognizant that I also embodied an outsider identity and saw peace, conflict and education through a different lens gained through living and studying abroad for five years. I reflected on my relationships with my respondents and the assumptions that I brought to the interpretations of the findings, what Maxwell (2013) referred to as interpretative validity. Maxwell suggested that seeking feedback from participants is a useful strategy that can help in identifying validity threats, personal biases, assumptions and flaws in an individual logic and methods of a study. Through the member check processes outlined in the previous paragraph, I was able to again clear insights into my understandings and representations of participants views.

Limitation of the Study

Every study must place boundaries on the extent of what can be covered. Fujii asserted that, "no study can hope to explain all the complexity of a single phenomenon" (2009, p. 21). This study, like others, does not claim to have covered the entire complex reality of higher education and peacebuilding in Kenya. Although the findings of this study are robust, novel and significant for both theoretical and practical purposes, the study did not aim to provide generalizations regarding constructions of peace or implications of PCS programs in all Kenyan universities nor an evaluation of the potential of such programs for peacebuilding in all post-conflict countries. I had initial thoughts about formulating a comparative study about universities in Kenya and South Sudan, but this was not feasible because of the countries relapse into civil war and the wide scope the study would have taken for a dissertation. In this study, two university PCS programs were examined, and this placed limitations on conclusions that can be drawn from them. Similarly, the views of the participants in the research (administrators, faculty members and students) were not necessarily representative of all the universities or tertiary institutions in Kenya. Moreover, I recognize that although I interviewed personnel working at the national level in the MoEST and NCIC, their views were also partial and did not represent the national or government position in its entirety.

At the practical level, fieldwork for this study was affected by intermittent national strikes by university lectures and student riots that resulted in closure of academic institutions where my research was to take place. These events limited access to study participants, particularly students and faculty members at Umoja University. When Umoja University re-opened after the disruptions, faculty members were busy teaching to

cover up for the semester work in about two weeks after which there were exams and closure for long holiday of two months. This meant that majority of the student participants were quite inaccessible as they had relocated to various regions in the country. Another challenge related to the national political landscape was a national general election in 2017. The political moments in Kenya are generally characterized with high sensitivity and heightened lack of cooperation for research. Many individuals were unwilling to share information because they imagined it could be a clandestine approach to gain data for election purposes or they could be victimized if they provided a critical assessment of a state of affairs of the nation. This was particularly challenging because my study was touching on issues of peace and conflict in a country where elections have been known to contribute to such tensions. As a result, some of my potential participants were suspicious and disinterested to accept interviews or sign consent forms.

The second challenge entailed lack of cooperation from one of the institutions that I had initially proposed as my study site about two months after my fieldwork began. I had to establish new connections for a second study site, Amani University, which took about two months because the research managers at the new institutions needed time to read my research proposal before granting my affiliation to the institution. This fieldwork was also delayed by the lengthy institutional review board and research approval permit from the national agencies. These circumstances affected the length I could spend at each institution for participant observations as well as the number of participants from each institution.

Lastly, it was very difficult to secure interview appointments with most of the national officials as they were frequently engaged in meetings or traveling for some assignments. Some of the data regarding national officials' views on peace come from my analysis of their public interviews on national television and in national newspaper articles when these officials commented on issues of peace and conflict in the country.

Despite the above challenges, this comparative case study of two institutions that have different historical, organizational and student profiles illuminated some important findings that informed an in-depth understanding of multiple perspectives, approaches and understandings of peace and higher education and peacebuilding process through PCS programs. Moreover, using the comparative case study framework enabled me to undertake a broader analysis to capture an in-depth conceptualization of higher education and peacebuilding in Kenya as it relates to international initiatives for peacemaking through education and how the development of these programs reflects histories of conflict and peace over time. I did not conceptualize two PCS programs as bounded units; rather, I treated them as programs within larger institutions that are shaped by multiple factors and actors at the global, national and local levels. For example, the rationale for establishing PCS in Kenya in the first place, along with faculty members and students' conceptions and experiences of peacebuilding, were examined in relation to influences from key international and regional institutions and partnerships with universities abroad. Finally, the study also utilized several methods of data collection, which provided multiple perspectives from different actors to establish the historical, local, national and global aspects as they manifested to shape the establishment of PCS

programs, conceptions of peace and faculty members teaching approaches in the two foci programs.

Positionality and Motivations for the Study

The position of the researcher in relation to the subject of study (both before and during the research) can influence the design, analysis and presentation of study findings (Cohen et al., 2011; Maxwell, 2013). I brought to the study multiple identities as a Kenyan doctoral student in the United States who has a master's degree in International Peace Studies. My knowledge of peacebuilding is greatly informed by western theories about peace and conflict, which I was constantly reflecting on during the data collection and analysis. As a result, I made conscious efforts to analyze local ways of knowing about peace and conflict in Kenya by checking with respondents to verify meanings surrounding their responses as well as my final analysis. As a Kenyan, I anticipated that participants might conceal specific responses or assume my knowledge of historical aspects relating to the country or their institutions. I explained to my informants the need for them to be as explicit as possible, and I made follow-ups whenever the information provided was not clear. In order to facilitate honest discussions, I explained to the respondents that my study was not an evaluation of the PCS programs. I also started from the onset of interviews that my study did not aim to change respondents' views and their responses would not be judged as wrong or right.

My quest for knowledge in education and peacebuilding is informed by my personal and academic experiences and goals, which intersect and greatly informed my approach to this study. The intersection of education, conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding processes has intrigued me since I was a university student during the

brutal post-election violence in Kenya in 2007- 2008. I have also been intrigued by on-going challenges of student unrest and violence in higher education in Kenya and elsewhere around the world. Recognizing the dearth of scholarship addressing these issues, especially in the global south, my goal has been to understand the ways educational processes shape peace and the overall role of higher education in the wider societies in which they are located.

Research Timeline

The preparation for fieldwork and actual data collection for this study was carried out between December 2015 and July 2017. I began with pre-dissertation fieldwork for a month and half from December of 2015 to mid-January of 2016. This was followed by obtaining research permits and IRB approval, establishing contacts with study sites and finding a research assistant, who helped me to make connections to some of the student interviewees as well as accompanied me to outreach events to assist with recording of interviews. Most of the study data was collected between July 2016 to August 2017. As earlier stated, transcriptions, translations and data analysis were done concurrently during the data collection.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide the overarching research design and methodology that I employed for this study on higher education and peacebuilding in Kenya. The first section provided an overview of the case study methodology and discussion of the research questions. This was followed by a discussion of methods of data collection and the data analysis process. The last section discussed ethical considerations, validity concerns, limitations of the study and researcher positionality and motivations for the

study. I established that while the study was limited to two universities, the multiple methods of data collection and analysis enabled me to gain an in-depth understanding of the rationales for PCS programs, the conceptions of peace, and applications of peace knowledge in Kenyan universities and students' experiences in these programs. In the next chapter, I examine AU and UU institutions, whose PCS programs, faculty members, students and administrators were the focus for the study.

Chapter 4: Institutional Context and Responses to PCS Programs

Introduction

In this chapter, I establish the context of the study by examining the two Kenyan universities, Umoja University and Amani University, whose faculty members, administrators, students and Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) programs formed the primary focus of the dissertation. I analyze institutional histories, missions, academic outlooks, students' campus life and administrators' rationales for PCS programs. My analysis reveals that the two universities diverge in their missions, student academic life and overall approaches to higher education and therefore to their institutional rationales for peacebuilding. I establish that in the last decade, both institutions made deliberate efforts to respond to societal needs that related to peace, conflict and justice. The introduction of peace and conflict courses was an attempt by the universities to institutionalize not only academic programs in peacebuilding but also to make peacebuilding part of university service. Through this Chapter, I demonstrate that the university context matters greatly in understanding the approaches to PCS that higher education institutions adopt.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first is where I analyze Umoja University and Amani University's history, mission, student life and outlook of Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) programs. In the second section, I compare these two institutions, particularly the students' lived experiences and institutional rationales for PCS programs and how these relate to the national and regional perspectives in peacebuilding and offer. In subsequent chapters, I will examine in detail the participants'

understandings of peace, the design of PCS programs and faculty members' teaching approaches in PCS programs as well as students' experiences.

Study Site I: Umoja University of Kenya

On Monday May 16, 2016, I had an appointment at 9:00 a.m. to meet a top university administrator at Umoja University. At 6:30am I was ready to leave my apartment to get there on time. Having lived and worked in Kenya, there was a common knowledge about proper planning and flexibility due to traffic jams. I walked towards the bus stop and boarded a 14-seater min-bus commonly referred to as *matatu* that headed to the direction of Umoja. The *matatus* are designed to accommodate two passengers in the front with the driver and the rest in the second compartment. The two front seats were always on high demand as most passengers wanted to avoid the loud music in the passenger section. I liked sitting in the front compartment with because I enjoyed near private conversations with the driver on random issues the country.

At exactly 7:12 AM we departed towards the city near Umoja University. About halfway through the journey, I realized that the driver was diverging to another route which is longer. When I asked him about the diversion, he explained that students at Umoja University had gone on strike over the weekend. The police had blocked part of the routes near the university in order to contain the situation. This news was crucial. Having lived and studied in the country, I knew that university students' riots were not a unique phenomenon. However, when they happened, institutions often closed temporarily or in some cases for a long period in order to deal with the circumstances at hand. My suspicion was confirmed after I called my interviewee, a top administrator and faculty

member at the institution. He informed me that the students had been sent home but said it was still safe for us to meet on campus.

At 8:07AM we arrived at bus stop section which was about a 10-minute walk to the campus. Walking towards Umoja University, I noticed that the majority of the shops, restaurants, cyber cafes, electronic shops, photocopying machines and book stores were closed. At the gate of Umoja University were private security officers who verified national identification cards, proof of appointments, checked inside of bags/handbags and led people through a metal detector. There was a separate queue for staff members who displayed their work identification cards to the security officers. The high security in public spaces was established in the aftermath of terrorist attacks at the Westgate Mall and Garissa Teachers College and other attacks that have recently claimed the lives of many Kenyans. At Umoja University on this morning, the security screening was further heightened by the student riots. There were heavily armed police officers guarding in the university precincts and the neighboring private business buildings.

As I walked past the gate, the impact of the students' unrest was quite axiomatic. For example, the ruins of the burned down students' offices was conspicuous. The area had been marked off by police tape. Some staff members were combing the debris to salvage some items from the building. The campus grounds were full of shattered window glasses. There was none of the usual traffic of students from one lecture hall to another, nor any of the small group discussions that were scattered around the open fields of the university that I observed during my pre-dissertation research in 2015. The parking lot, which is often at full capacity, had only a few cars, and few post-graduate students were on campus. The library, one of the iconic buildings on campus was closed. The

campus was quite deserted. There was an unusual silence. A missing vibrancy that I experienced while walking towards the administrator's office.

On arrival, I was informed that my appointment was rescheduled to later in the afternoon due to an urgent University Senate Council meeting. I walked towards the university cafeteria at the far-right end of the administration block. Sitting on the first floor in front of a glass window, I was drawn to the complex architecture of old buildings that defined the identity of one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in Kenya and East Africa: Umoja University. However, on this morning, Umoja University unity did not seem to be anywhere in sight.

History and Mission of Umoja University

Umoja University was established as an educational institute in the early 1940s by the British colonial administrators as a technical and commercial institute in Nairobi. Later, in the1950s, the institute started to offer higher technical education and training in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, making it an inter-territorial institution of higher education. During these early years, the regional campuses offered diploma training in collaboration with universities in Europe. However, following independence in the mid-1960s, each of the three East African nations advocated for self-governance and open access to a university education for Africans as part of the transition from colonial rule, subsequently marking the end to racially-segregated systems of education (Amutabi, 2002; Eshiwani, 1993; Furley & Watson, 1978; Otiende, 1992).

Higher education planning and provision featured heavily in post-independence national narratives as part of state-building, national identity and freedom (Otiende, 1992). In particular, universities were viewed as integral to the development of the

human resources that were needed to lead the new independent state. Moreover, universities were conceived as institutions that could preserve African culture, dignity and heritage that had been eroded and disparaged during colonial rule. This aim, as I will demonstrate, remains elusive. Many scholars have demonstrated that inequality in access to higher education started right at independent and has been coupled with political and ethnic control of universities, which has made such institutions lose the unifying roles that they were hoped to generate for the country (Change, 1996; Macharia 2012; Oanda et al. 2015).

The student population at Umoja University has grown tremendously from 2,500 in the 1970s to nearly 95,000 in 2015 (CHEK, 2015). This make Umoja University one of the largest higher education institutions in Africa in terms of student population. Amongst these students 80,000 are undergraduate while 1,300 graduate students and the rest are undertaking short-level professional certificate courses. According to the national university entrance reports of 2014, most college students in Kenya viewed Umoja University as one of their preferred institutions for undergraduate education (CHEK,2014). The institution also had over 1500 international students in the undergraduate programs at the time of my research. These students were placed in the five campuses that constitute discipline-based colleges or schools. The institution also has extra-mural or distance learning centers in nearly all the 47 counties in the country. Overall, Umoja University offers over 250 programs in various fields in natural and social sciences, arts, applied sciences, humanities and business and technology.

The huge student population strains the limited teaching and learning resources at Umoja University and has implications on education quality. The increase in public

university enrollment in the last decade has happened alongside minimal increases in employment for university teaching faculty members, leading to a very high student/faculty ratios as well as strained capacity on universities to provide affordable housing for undergraduate students (Oanda, et al, 2014). Moreover, the high demand for university education has further created a high competition for certain university majors. Programs that are deemed prestigious, such as courses in law, medicine, engineering and business, require a higher high school GPA. In contrast, newly established arts-based programs, such as Peace and Conflict Studies, have lower entry requirements. This meant at the time of my research that PCS programs could attract many students who needed university level certifications but do not necessarily had the passion or interest in that field of study. For example, a faculty member at Umoja University who taught at AUK for over 20 years, stated:

> I have seen this university expand like a balloon. I mean a balloon! When I started teaching in the 1990s, I had around twenty-five students in my class. I knew all of them by name. Now, we are teaching in mass lecture halls and rarely interact with our students. Majority of these fellows are in the parallel program, and some of them do not put a lot of effort in their academic work. All they want is to graduate because some of them are assured of jobs through their connections. The challenge is lecturers have no option but to work within the limited resources. The university management is bent to meet financial costs. So how we teach or deliver the programs is sometimes not a big priority. It is more up to the lecturer to question their own morals as scholars. Unfortunately, some of these new programs are the ones that people run to, [even though] there are no specialized individuals teaching in these programs. (Faculty member, Umoja University, 2016)

The increase in university students' enrollment at Umoja University was reflective of national increases in higher education access orchestrated by various changes in government economic policies as well as the adoption of global education

policies. First, following independence there was open access to higher education for Africans who had passed national examinations which initiated the increase in numbers. The increase in enrollment was further bolstered by full government financing of public higher education through international donations and bilateral aid between early 1970s through 1990. The government funding supported university services such as students' accommodation and faculty members salaries. However, the Kenyan government's adoption of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) in the late 1980s resulted in reduced government expenditure on public education, leading to the introduction of cost-sharing and more self-financing students (Eshiwani, 1990; Oketch, 2004; Rono, 2002). In response, public universities started enterprise development, contract employment systems and enrollment of students popularly referred to as Module II or Parallel Degree Students[16] to meet the financial deficits to enable institutional sustainability (Oanda et al., 2008; Oketch, 2009).

In 2015, Module II/self-sponsored students constituted 70 percent of the student population in Kenyan universities. At Umoja University, the self-sponsored students were over 60 percent. The main difference between regular (government-sponsored) and self-sponsored students was their average GPA on national secondary examination, the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education. high school scores. Regular/Module I degree-seeking students needed to score a mean grade of B+ (An aggregate of 10 points out of 12), while

[16] Parallel degree students are also referred to as Module II students. These are university students who did not attain the government cut off score for university entrance but attained the minimum requirement for admission to university. The Module II students were not eligible for government loans or scholarships at the time of this study. Their tuition fees were double that of regular students thus institutions had greater appetite to admit them as an alternative source of income amidst reduced government expenditure of higher education.

their Module II counterparts needed at least a C+ (7 points out of 12) or an equivalent of a three-year course of training from a tertiary institution (CHEK, 2015). Moreover, Module II students are not eligible for subsidized government scholarship, and there is no standard fee structure for Module II students, allowing each institution to determine its own fees depending on the courses, which in some cases is double that of regular students (Oanda, 2014). As scholars have observed, institutions have greater appetite to admit Module II students, and multiple programs were designed to meet the demand. The introduction of Module II programs also extended in East African countries a process that Mamdani (2010) observed opened avenues for privatization and commercialization of higher education with serious implications on educational quality.

A second factor that has led to an increase in enrollment in higher education institutions is related to the introduction of free primary education and subsided secondary education in 2003. The implementation of Education for All in Kenya resulted in increased access and completion in primary and secondary schools by 2010 and subsequent increase in high school graduates who qualified for university entrance. For example, in 2004, only 10,000 high school students joined technical colleges and universities compared to 28,000 by 2015 (CHEK, 2016). It is important to note here that in Kenya, degree course decisions for students (major and minor subjects) are predetermined based on the grades they score on the secondary exams. Thus, some majors have a higher entry than others and cut-off entry points differ for Module 1 and Module II students. For example, a bachelor's degree in law or finance demands for a Module I student a score of A- (11 points out of 12) while Module II students need only a grade of B (at least 9 out of 12). Thus, courses such as PCS programs that have minimum

entry criteria of a C+ can attract Module II students who may view these courses as easy way to attain university-level education and certifications for other benefits other than passion for their fields of study.

Mission of Umoja University

Umoja University aims to offer quality higher education and training that "embody the aspirations of the Kenyan people and the global community through creation, preservation, integration, transmission and utilization of knowledge" (Administrator, Umoja University, 2016). This vision statement was well articulated in an interview with one of the top leaders of the institution, who stated:

> We want [Umoja University] to remain the preferred university of choice, offering world class education. Today, we have so many institutions carrying the name of a "university," but they are markets. We choose to focus on quality in research and teaching, that is why we select the best of the best to join our programs, and you know our alumni are all over the world doing great work. Recently we were ranked in the top five universities in Africa. They placed us ahead of all universities in East, West and North Africa. We are now competing with South African universities. Although we have our challenges, we remain committed to be a world class university, committed to scholarly excellence through quality education and training. The university is committed to strengthening the capacity to generate knowledge. (Administrator, Umoja University, 2016)

Umoja University's mission relates to the traditional tripartite role universities as bodies that carry out research, teaching and service (Bourner, 2008; Duke, 2008). By positioning itself as a world class university, leaders viewed their institutions as playing a major role in workforce development and the creation of solutions to pressing needs in Kenya and globally. As seen in the quotation above, the interviewee who was one of the top administrators at Umoja University sought to dissociate this institution from the

market driven practices that had engulfed most of the institution in the region an issue that made Mamdani (2010) characterize universities as markets.

On the contrary, the positive characterization of Umoja University was refuted by some students and faculty members who expressed mixed perspectives on education quality and student life at the institution. Some students noted that the large student population was not matched with an increase in faculty members employment nor expanded physical infrastructure such as classrooms or students' hostels. This resulted in limited consultation hours for students with faculty members, and frequent students' and lecturers' strikes that affected academic calendars. Faculty also engaged in part-time teaching in other universities and institutions which further limited their interactions with students at any of the institutions. For example, a fifth-year student in History and Armed Conflict complained:

> I was supposed to graduate in 2015 but have taken a year more. I had some missing marks [the examination scripts couldn't be traced] and had to wait to do the supplementary exam next semester. I already know that I will score a D on that *supp* [supplementary exam]. Because no one scores higher than a D in the repeat exams. It doesn't matter what you write. We have huge classes here in the common classes. And the lecturers are not in the offices. They have appointments teaching in other colleges in town. We only have a name of the university, but we are getting a raw deal in this course. (student, Umoja University, 2016)

Another student noted the prioritization of entrepreneurial practices over quality education in her response about her experiences as an undergraduate student at Umoja University. She expressed that "this is not a university anymore, we are in a business firm, all the admin [administration] cares for is raising money. These guys in para [parallel] are given priority because they pay a lot of money than us" (Student, Umoja University, 2016).

A further conversation with faculty members and my review of recent studies on Kenyan higher education revealed that challenges of inadequate teaching and learning materials are system wide, and they have been exacerbated with very high demand for university education. The institution also faced challenges in regard to students' relationships, violence and overall poor ethnic relationships. I discuss these issues further in the next section because they matter in the overall conceptions of peace and conflict in Kenya. Since universities are also located within a region or country, the university culture in part reflects what is happening in the wider society because it is in itself a microcosm of a wider society (Inglehart, 2015).

Students' lived experiences at Umoja University

Two major aspects of student life at Umoja University related to the poor ethnic relationships and violent strikes. First, Umoja was characterized by cycle of student unrest, strikes and violence. The student unrest often resulted in destruction of property and indefinite closures of the institution. As earlier illustrated, during this study Umoja University had experienced massive student unrest that resulted in the burning of the student services office building and the closure of the university for a month. In my interviews with top university administrators, they viewed the actions of students as a plan by outsiders, particularly politicians, to interfere with the administration processes of university. Other administrators suggested that students lacked conflict resolution skills and life skills in general, which predisposed them to violence as a means to force the administration to meet their demands. This perception was explained by one university administrator:

> We have challenges of student unrest because these children lack mentorship right from their homes. As you know, students in secondary schools are burning their schools all over the country. These are the same children that will end up in our universities. They don't understand how to talk about their problems without resorting to throwing stones around and looting from innocent people. So, you see, sometimes people blame the university, but parents, schools [primary and secondary] have failed to teach our youth how to behave well. I sit in disciplinary committees and I see a parent say this is not my son, or my daughter cannot do such a thing…then we show them a video footage of the rampage they have caused. (Administrator, Umoja University, 2016)

This administrator was referring to incidences of arson in secondary schools in Kenya that resulted in wanton destruction of property of over 50 high schools in 20016 and 2017. (NCRC, 2017). The Ministry of Education directed an early closure of all secondary schools in the country as investigations were initiated to manage the situation. Multiple factors were identified such as extreme workloads, many examinations, changes in school leadership, lack of guidance and counselling, peer pressure and students' conflict resolution skills (NCRC, 2017). Coupled with students' violence at Umoja University, there was a national crisis regarding to students' unrest and violence and universities management sought to abdicate themselves from the negative students' behavior.

Contrary to administrators' views, students expressed mixed perspectives in regard to violent strikes and protests at Umoja University and other universities in general. For most students, strikes were their last resort to push for their demands against unfavorable policies or actions by faculty members or university management. For example, a student expressed that the unrest in 2016 was motivated by the rise in students' fees, delays in the remittances of students' stipends by the government through the higher education loans board (HELB), unfair student elections, and police harassment

of university students. Other students cited dissatisfaction with the academic culture related to examination marking and poor university leadership, issues that other researchers highlighted following the students' violence at this university (Lubanga, 2016; Ombati, 2016). The quotes below from two student interviews clearly illustrate these views. The first quote is from a second-year student in peace and human security, and the second one is from an outgoing student representative:

> The outside does not understand that students are not the cause of violence. Students are often provoked to violence. Take an example from the last election [student election], we are voting smoothly. But the police come and start throwing tear gas and beating up everyone. We had to go on rampage to protest police brutality and impunity in the university and the country. The police are puppets. They are used by leaders here [in the country] to protect them. Students are the voice of change; we are the future of this nation and must be different. Staying passive and watching doesn't help. I think it maintains the status. I was in the protests, for the first time. And I will continue protesting. (Student, 2016)

> Comrades had to strike, so that the administration can act. We want to be free to elect our leaders—but Amide (one of the candidates) struck a deal with the admin already. Look, regular students have no housing. Loans [student stipends from the government] are not in our accounts…how can we survive? You also understand these issues of missing marks and delays in giving supplementary exams. People do exams then wait for results then they hear their marks can't be traced. We even don't know if the grades that we get are genuine. (Student leader, Umoja University, 2016)

In these two quotes, students understood their actions as a form of activism for policy changes. This mean, though, that there was high likelihood of students' use of violence as a means towards conflict resolution in the future to get concessions for specific demands from the university administration or the government. I later explored these actions and realized that some students viewed these violent actions as avenues towards gaining freedoms and peace (I develop these students' conceptions of peace in later chapters

while contrasting with those of faculty members). These students' views were also echoed by a few faculty members. While the majority of the faculty members interviewed found student unrest a worrying aspect of academic culture at the university, others suggested that students had a right to protest and freely express their opinions if they are non-violent. Yet a faculty member and dean of students at Umoja University suggested that outsiders, 'hooligans' and the police sometimes take advantage of students' protest "to unleash terror, loot and blame university student" which portrayed the university and students negatively (Faculty member, Umoja University, 2016).

The second aspect of student life at Umoja University was the negative ethnic relations that marked the students' activities and relationships. For example, ethnic identities defined students' elections and social organizations. Candidates for the various posts rallied support based on shared ethnic identities, an aspect that reflected the political realignments that were forming as the country prepared for a general election. The student elections at Umoja University were vicious and involved huge economic resources as students engaged in mighty shows including branded vehicles, expensive posters and bribing voters (Wanzala, 2018). Administrators told me that students were funded my politicians and business leaders who in turn wanted student's leaders to support their bids for business enterprises or tenders for university services or gain political supporters. A peace studies student who was a candidate for one of the seats explained:

> Here *lazima upipange na watu wako* [a candidate must be smart/prepared with his/her people]. We are comrades when fighting for other things but with elections people are voting their tribes. It is the same thing out there. Now imagine when the administration wants to rig in their candidate, what happens?

> You know people will be on the streets [demonstration] (Student, Umoja University, 2016).

A similar account was narrated by a faculty member how student elections reflected the national political alignment and ethnicity as follows:

> Students tend to conduct their campaigns and elections more or less within political lines. So, if today we have two major parties, Jubilee and ODM, the alignment would be Jubilee and ODM or Jubilee and CORD. If tomorrow it is PNU and I don't know which other group, it will be the same; and I think that is the deficit in ethics that we have lacked in several of our academic institutions and this also plays into the level of lecturers and appointments, and all these. So, there is a bit of a dearth of proper ethics and leadership and key thing for me here is leadership. It's the kind of leadership that we've had in place and how the state and other political players have been able to interfere with academic institutions and how appointments are being carried out. Now, that issue has been raised very strongly by the Ministry of Education. Just about three weeks ago, they called a meeting of Vice Chancellors and you probably saw in the newspapers. (Faculty member, Umoja University, 2016)

A further illustration of the polarized political student life at Umoja University comes from an administrator who suggested students' politics were controlled by powerful politicians who, in turn, seek particular interests in the institution. He argued that "powerful politicians want to pull strings in the university, that's why they fund these students. How do you expect these students to drive expensive cars? Look at the monies they display yet they don't work?" (Administrator, Umoja University, 2016). The highly divided elections raised tensions to levels that made it necessary for the university senate to often close the institution out of the fear of the safety of the campus community and resources. These examples of student violence and political interference in the running of university management is an area that university administrators cited as a cause of

physical violence, and it relates to their understandings of peace as the absence of violence, which discuss later in Chapter Five.

Peace and Conflict Studies at Umoja University

Umoja University was among the first public universities to establish programs related to peace education or peace and security in Kenya in the early 1990s. The initial courses in peace and conflict were integrated into programs such as political science, international relations, history, and sociology. However, in the 2000s the university shifted its focus to create free-standing programs of studies in peace, armed conflict, security, peace education, terrorism and anti-radicalization, migration studies and education in emergencies. At Umoja University, I focused my study at two campuses. the main campus and the School of Education and Continuing Studies. The main campus, which hosts administrative offices, is located within the central business unit of the capital city. The campus has a student population of over 20,000. This campus has expansive state-of-the-art theater halls, a library complex, parks, restaurants, halls of residence and sporting facilities with a beehive of activities within and outside the university precincts. The School of Education is about 30 kilometers from the city and has a student population of 7,000. At this smaller campus, my focus was with faculty and students in involved in the undergraduate programs, which included: Certificate and Diploma in Peace and Armed Conflict in East Africa, bachelor's programs in Conflict and Peace Studies, Peace Education, and Peace, Security and Development; Peace and Human Security. I also interviewed a few students in the Masters in Peace, Security and Leadership and Master of Science in Security, Leadership and Society.

These programs were started to respond to the growing challenges of peace and security in the East African region. The Director of the Undergraduate Programs in Armed Conflict and Peace Studies at Umoja University stated that universities need to be part of the long-term process of peacebuilding to seek solutions to the challenges of conflict, political violence, regional and international refugees, insecurity and terrorism. He suggested that university level programs in Peace and Conflict Studies were part of this long-term intervention. He asserted:

> We need long-term plans toward peacebuilding. If you want to keep society to acceptable levels of normalcy, it cannot be something that happens only after conflict. In Kenya, you would have struggled to find a department on peace and security, only five years ago there were no such programs in our universities. In fact, those that existed had a conceptualization of peace that was restricted to religion. If you wanted to find anyone who teaches issues of peace and security, you most likely found that person in departments of Religious Studies or Theology and at best International Relations. Where even in International Relations, they reproduced UN-centric notions of peace-building. But the events that this country has gone through recently—and the general protracted conflict in the Great Lakes region, and now the al-Shabaab made people to think seriously about the challenge of peace, and what universities can do to bring change. The university had to start diploma studies in armed conflict and peace, bachelor's degrees, and now we even have masters and PhDs. Core to our programs are conflict resolution and prevention. The undergraduate programs in conflict and peace help our students examine why violence, conflict, and war happen. We train them how to manage conflict and lead transformations that achieve constructive outcomes. We attract a wide range of students from the military, journalists, and regular undergraduates. (Faculty and Administrator, Umoja University, 2016)

The above views by an administrator brought forth a key rationale for PCS programs as part of a higher education institutions approach to peacebuilding following national and regional upheavals. Other faculty at Umoja University viewed PCS programs as part of life-skills training for young people. For example, a senior lecturer at

Umoja University and instructor in the Department of History and Peace Studies suggested that "people and organizations have realized that peace studies provide important skills necessary for co-existence socially, politically, and economically" (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016). She went on to explain how the program came about:

> We sat together as a faculty and looked at the challenges that our universities are facing, and what was happening around us. This was after the post-election violence (in 2007/2008). There was a lot of trauma, when we reopened the university. People did not trust anybody, because as you know these lectures here and students were also part of the problem. The university senate was worried about securing campus from violence. It was clear we needed to revamp conflict mediation and training. At this time, violence was a norm, and young people celebrated violence, even worse, our political leaders were inciting communities to violence. When we look at Gandhi's teachings, violence doesn't beget peace. This was the time when we decided to provide capacity building in conflict resolution in the entire university. We also provided counselling to faculty and students.
>
> That's how we started engaging partners to set up the programs in peace and security. We partnered with [a police department in Kenya] to train peace, security and criminology, we set up a terrorism studies center, and the peace studies programs are now at all levels from certificate to PhD. We have been very intentional in the last five years, more than in the 1990s. Our key theory of change was to introduce mandatory practical conflict mediation training in our certificate, diploma and bachelor's courses in conflict. Before this, our curriculum was theory based, we were teaching theories of war and conflict. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

This faculty member's comments show the change in objectives in regard to the areas of from a theory based to a practical curriculum aimed to develop conflict mediation skills. In Chapter Six I draw on classroom observations to discuss how faculty implemented this curriculum.

In addition to the general peace and conflict studies programs, Umoja University had a special peace education program for teacher candidates. The program was initiated

in partnership with universities in the region and an international institution to develop capacity for secondary school teachers in peace education who could then develop and entrench the peace education curriculum within secondary schools. According to the national policy documents, the implementation of the peace education curriculum, which was developed from 2008 and piloted through to 2014, was ready for implementation but it couldn't take off because of the limited numbers of trained teachers (GoK, 2014). A faculty at Umoja University further explained:

> You know the government rolled out a Peace Education Policy in 2014, but prior to this they installed peace education as a life skill in secondary schools. We have been doing pre-service training, but no teacher wants to teach what they have not trained for. They don't have the time. We forgive them, because I was there, I know, the syllabus is huge. I was teaching Geography. We are training the trainers of trainers, and teachers to implement peace education as a required subject in the curriculum. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

This Peace Education Policy, which was enacted in 2014 (introduced in Chapter One), is designed to integrate peacebuilding in all sectors and gives emphasis on the role of education for peacebuilding. It states that "schools and communities [should] be equipped with knowledge, values and attitudes to effectively manage conflict" (GoK, 2015, pp. 125–126). Some of the objectives of the Peace Education Policy are as follows:

> i. Mainstream peace education into the primary schools, secondary schools,
> Adult and continuing education, Teacher education and Non-formal education
> curricular.
> ii. Build capacity of Education officers, teachers and members of the school
> community on Peace Education.
> iii. Disseminate the Education Sector Policy on Peace Education.
> iv. Establish model schools for peace education.
> v. Enhance coordination of stakeholders in peace education.
> vi. Initiate and maintain effective monitoring and evaluation for peace education.

vii. Sensitize communities on harmonious coexistence through the education sector.

viii. Coordinate the implementation of the ICQN on peace education work plan

(GoK, 2015, pp. 125–126).

The Umoja University peace programs was designed to meet part of the national goals and objectives outlined above. As a public university, it was obligated to assist in executing the state-level initiative, such as the training of teachers and professionals in peace education and supporting curriculum content in peace education. A faculty at Umoja expressed that the peace education program had a very high enrollment of secondary school teachers, teacher candidates and other professionals from the non-governmental sector, and they hope this approach will help scale up peace education in all sectors of the economy. Altogether, the undergraduate program in PCS at Umoja University admitted over 120 students every year. Moreover, students from other programs were eligible to enroll for elective courses in peace studies. The University Annual Enrollment Report of 2012 shows over 1000 students were enrolled in the diploma and undergraduate peace and security related courses:

a) Diploma in Peace and Security Studies-89
b) Diploma in Criminology, Peace and Society- 55
c) Diploma in Armed Conflict and Peace- 55
d. Bachelor of Arts in Peace Studies and International Studies- 522
e) Bachelor of Arts in Peace and Environmental Studies- 457
e. Bachelor's in development studies and Peace- 55
f. Postgraduate Diploma in Strategic Studies-139
g) Masters in Peace, Security and Leadership- 21
h) Master of Science in Security, Leadership and Society- 15

The increase in enrollments in the PCS programs at Umoja University was reflective of the national demand for university education in general but also reflects the

high interest in the PCS related programs. Interviews with faculty and students suggested three significant reasons for high enrollment rates. First, the PCS programs were viewed to be the most relevant in the region because of the high demand for experts in local and international agencies working on issues related to refugees, peace and security for Kenya, South Sudan and Somalia. The second factor is associated with students' overall perception of Umoja University as the most reputable place to get a degree in PCS because of the longevity of the programs at the institution as well as the high national and regional ranking of the University. The third and major factor relates to the general demands for university education in the country. Some students in the PCS programs stated that they joined the programs mainly to gain a university-level certification to increase chances of employment or promotions in their current positions. As a result, peace studies-related courses attracted many students, some of whom had no interest in future work in peace and justice. The mismatch between students' rationales and institutional goals for PCS programs was a challenge that faced both Umoja and Amani University, and I return to discuss the implications of this problem in Chapter Seven.

Although most faculty and administrators at Umoja University expressed that PCS programs were relevant to the region, they also suggested that such programs, because of their high demands for university education, had become avenues for income generation for the university and an easy gateway for getting university degrees. Some faculty pointed out the challenges of quality in regard to inadequate content-area specialists in the field of peace and conflict studies at Umoja University and other institutions. One stated:

> I am going to be extremely brutal, because I think that if you want to see some of the biggest jokes that we do within the higher education scene in Africa but more

> specifically in Kenya, I think it has to do with this proliferation of peace and security programs that honestly don't make sense, and I know I am being unfair to a whole number of hard-working people, but sometimes it's within this unfairness that something serious comes. When did we train enough specialists in the area of peace and security for them to actually, effectively run those programs? I won't mention names, but I know of a university that has, for close to 10 years, taught Political Studies, they didn't want to say Political Science, they said Political Studies. They never recruited one single PhD level political scientist to teach in that program; and the only time they had a single PhD level person teaching in that program, I recommended him to come for sabbatical from a university from the U.S. So, we have produced several people claiming to be political scientists or whatever you want to rename them. So, take that example and ask yourself, when did we as Kenyans train enough people to teach effectively peace and security? That's an interdisciplinary area and most likely you are going to find that the answer is that we actually did not even care that for you to mount a program in Peace and Security, you have first of all to train and get the right kind of people, who can teach, that inter-disciplinary area... to ask themselves, what are the key theoretical frameworks that inform the study of peace and security? What are the methodological questions that are important to teaching that? What is the logic of even having the discipline in the first instance? In some of these universities, you will find they just went to a Department of Sociology, picked up somebody who hasn't even published a single serious article... in sociology, and they put that person to begin to run the program. It's a joke! It's actually an abuse of what the idea of a university ought to be; and I am passionate about this because many of us sit and we see the lives of extremely brilliant young people with serious potential, being wasted, by programs of Peace and Security that do not make sense in the first instance, that are badly conceptualized, and if we were to get serious and if the Commission of University Education got serious... many of the programs being mounted there are plagiarized from somewhere else. Now, if you go to King's College, they have a department of war studies, it is one of the biggest departments, not just in the King's College but in the UK; and they have spent time conceptualizing what they want to teach. Some of their professors, even though I intellectually disagree with the knowledge they produce, you cannot dismiss them, and there's an amount of seriousness about what that program ought to do, for the UK, you know. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

I return to discuss these issues in the concluding chapter as I examine how to re-envision PCS programs in the country.

In conclusion, Umoja University's history and development reflect the general public higher education trends in the country. The academic and student life at the institution further portray challenges of conflict and violence in universities and the recent developments of universities in seeking avenues to address these challenges. Furthermore, cycles of student unrest and student violence during elections are processes mirror the general social malaise in the nation. The growth of neoliberal education practices at Umoja University and the high demand for university education implicate university efforts in delivering its mission of a world class university education. Likewise, entrepreneurial university practices compete with the need for universities to provide alternatives to immediate societal challenges of peace and sustainability. These characteristics of Umoja University make it quite a representative public institution to explore how various actors understand peace and execute peacebuilding initiatives. The next section discusses the second site of the study, Amani University.

Study Site II: Amani University

History and Mission of Amani University

Amani University started in the early 1980s as a graduate institute offering a graduate diploma in theological studies and a two-year master's program in Theology and Divinity. The institute was established by an association of the regional religious leaders in East and Central Africa. As a faith-based institution, Amani University is founded on the principles and philosophy of the founders, who emphasized the search for the truth about nature, humanity and God. The religious inclination is evident in the institution's philosophy based on the biblical verse in John 14:6: "I am the way and the truth and the life." Based on this verse, Amani University practices to education hold Christian

worldview and principles as fundamental to the understanding of knowledge as well as seeking solutions to the problems in the society.

Throughout the institutional documents and statements, there are clear illustrations that portrays the centrality of faith or religion in shaping academic life, policies and practice at the institution. The foundation of Amani University is anchored in the belief that God enables humans "through the development of their intelligence and talent" to find meaning in life. It is from this standpoint that Amani University's mission is derived: to "promote excellence in research, teaching and community service by preparing moral, upright leaders based on the intellectual tradition of the Church" (Document009, Amani University, 2016). The vision of Amani University is "to become a world-class university producing transformative leaders for the church and society" (Document009, 2016). This philosophical underpinning, as I will illustrate, also guided their approach to PCS studies programs which were viewed as a form of continued search for peace and social justice which is the mandate of the church.

The religious aspect of Amani University's mission and philosophy is what distinguishes it significantly from Umoja University's secular approach to public education. As a public/state-owned institution, Umoja University does not have a religious orientation in its mission, policies, or academic practices. Thus, unlike Umoja University, the buildings at Amani University's main campus communicated its foundations as an institution connected with the Christian faith. Amani campus included chapels and other statues that symbolized the Christian faith within the university. Umoja University's stance toward peace and conflict resolution is secular, and, some argued, strategic in terms of expanding the number of fee-paying students at the institution. Of

importance to this study are the ways the different philosophical orientations of the two universities are reflected in the institutions' responses to and designs of their PCS programs. For example, a faculty and alumni of Umoja University stated:

> It has been a journey to see where we are today. I studied here right from the seminary then went to Luvein in Belgium for postgraduate studies. Back then we were only four hundred. There were no other campuses. In fact, all of us had funding—it was free. But there was a great need for the university to reach out and I think that's why it has expanded to where we are. Today, I can firmly say we are the only university in this region that is serious about social justice…We critically engage our students to question their privileges and reach out to the poor amongst us. That's what we stand for, and education that empowers people enriches the body, soul and mind. (Faculty, Amani University 2016)

This quote illustrates the focus on the 'body, soul and mind' which formed what most faculty at Amani University viewed as a holistic Christian education that build knowledge of God and growth in critical thinking in daily lived experiences. Moreover, a review of public documents and program website at Amani University reflect its religious foundation. Most of the faculty and students were ordained church leaders or working towards becoming ordained and had received training in theological studies, in addition to their other disciplinary trainings. Similarly, the university leadership, the Board of Governors, included mostly ordained leaders and academicians who had received a vocation in the church. However, Amani University had non-ordained faculty, including some in the PCS programs. Moreover, five faculty members had a dual appointment at both Amani University and Umoja Universities, where they taught on part-time basis at both institutions. While Amani University is a religious based, it is important to note that the university admissions policies stated non-discrimination based on religion, nationality or sexual orientation, but students and the overall university community were expected to "respect the teachings and practice of the Church" (Document 04, 2016).

The growth of Amani University into a major private university in East Africa was in part due to its religious focus attracting students from the region who were mostly supported by the Church. In addition, the high demands for university education that started in the early 1990s catalyzed the growth of Amani University as it expanded to absorb students that could not join public universities, as well as those that needed a religious institution. At the time of this study, Amani University had four main schools: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Commerce offering certificate, bachelors, masters and PhD level programs. The institution also has Constituent Colleges and Institutes, including the Institute for Peace and Social Justice that offers various programs in PCS. In 2014, the university had a population of 6,000 students in the undergraduate programs and over 3,000 post-graduate students. For this study, I focused on the faculty and students in the Peace and Justice programs in the main campus of Amani University and the Institute of Peace and Social Justice.

In regard to teaching and learning resources, Amani University has developed modern learning facilities that integrated the latest technologies in instruction and teaching, which include WiFi-accessible classrooms. I also observed that lecture halls had conference-like classroom equipment that enabled students to participate in lectures even in larger classroom settings. Unlike Umoja University and other public institutions, students at Amani University did not stay in university-owned housing. There were off-campus student dorms run by third parties with a full-time restaurant service. The students' dormitories also had WIFI networks, common study areas, entertainment units (TV lounge) and catering services. These aspects, however, come at huge costs and only

a small portion of the Kenyan population is able to afford the tuition cost of $3,000 per year compared to an average of $600 at Umoja University. The majority of the undergraduate students at Amani University come from upper middle-class families that can afford to pay for the high tuition, and accommodation costs and commute. Only a few students are on university scholarships and national sponsorship. As a faculty at this institution explained:

> I have taught in many universities in this country as I started from the technical institutes in Gigiri before I went back to school, taught at the in several public universities before I came here [at Amani University]. I can say teaching here is different because I don't have many students as is the case in the public ones, we have small class sizes which means we closely interact with our students. This comes at a high price, because as you know the fees in this place is not what every Kenyan can afford. At least the government is trying to sponsor a few students through scholarships and loans which I hope will open chances for more students from low economic backgrounds to attend [Amani University]. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

The opening up of regular student's enrollment to private universities in Kenya has allowed more students from lower socio-economic background to the institution, which as other faculty noted, adds to the diversity in the students' population.

Students' Lived Experiences at Umoja University

Students' lived experiences at Amani University are a complete contrast to those of Umoja University students. Although most undergraduate students at Amani University are from Kenya, there was a large number of regional and international students from East and Central African countries. The diverse student population was a unique feature of this institution and was unlike Umoja University, where most students were from Kenya. Amani University had the highest numbers of international students in the country, most of them from neighboring countries of Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and other regions of Sub-Saharan Africa. As Amani University does not provide

accommodation for students, most of them commute from their homes or rental hostels to the university each day. The university buses and shuttle pick students from designated locations, while other students use public transportation systems to the institutions. This aspect of student life was different from most public universities where most undergraduate students stayed in students' hostels that are owned and managed by the respective universities. The management of students' out-of-class life added another layer of administrative responsibility of public universities towards students' well-being. In some cases, students' unrest occurs due to poor services in hostels or poor relationships amongst students in the hostels especially during political seasons.

Another distinguishing feature amongst the two institutions in regard to students' life was that Amani University has never experienced student strikes or demonstrations since its establishment, though this is a common feature for private religious universities. However, students from Amani University have participated in nationwide protests on issues of poor governance, police brutality and university students' safety in the country. For instance, at the time of this study, students at Amani University held a week-long demonstration against reckless driving by public passenger vehicles. At this time, a passenger bus run over a student at a pedestrian cross path and killed the victim instantly. Students burned tires on a major road and blocked traffic resulting to a stampede between protestors and the police. The absence of student unrest in this institution reflected most private universities in the country where there was a strict code of conduct and non-violence means of conflict resolution.

Peace and Conflict Studies Program at Amani University

Amani University is among the first private universities in Kenya to establish Peace and justice programs that have now run for two decades. These courses were founded on two accounts. The first was the need to respond to the challenges of peace and conflict following intractable conflicts in the Great Lakes region of Africa. The second was the result of an effort to extend the mission of the Church in social justice and peace in Africa. A faculty and founding director of the Institute for Peace at Amani University, who had also worked at the university for twenty-two years, captured the history and rationale for the PCS programs in his statement:

> Twelve years ago, we said *church*[17] in Africa, what can we do to respond to a number of conflicts that existed in the continent? We had the Great Lakes conflict which was at its height, we had the post-Rwanda genocide scenario, we had Burundi which was unsettled, we had DRC Congo, we had Sierra Leone, Liberia, so all these, we just said now... we are already running the *church* in more than 60 countries, we have our social justice centers, about 22 of them in Africa, we already have quite a number of our academic institutions in the continent, we said now, we need perhaps an institution for Africa, that will address specifically conflict and peace building issues. So, then we started this program and we thought we can use the academic approach, human formation, research and policy. So, our interest was really to see that the people we form, or train acquire the academic excellent, particularly skills of analytical and critical perspective to social issues but also students who could conduct research and who are versed with research. (Faculty and Administrator, Amani University, 2016)

Another faculty expressed the need for PCS programs as a way to deal with the ethnic and tribal challenges to peace and conflict in Kenya. While referring to the past violence she started:

[17] The actual denomination of this church is not included here for purposes of anonymity that was sought by the participating institution administrators.

> You know that there was a tribal, ethnic element to this [post-election violence] it gets hard to trust my colleagues and they too don't trust me because we know that people were killed based on their tribal and ethnic identities. We all needed to think about how we can heal together as a community, forge new relationships. What we have been doing as a department is to create that platform where we reflect on the effect of conflict to us individually and as an institution of learning. We seek ways to support those who were affected by the conflict—we know some lost family and relatives so providing sessions to talk, do counselling and foster forgiveness and reconciliation was significant. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

This faculty views were also expressed by other instructors and administrators who noted that Amani University hoped to "meet the demand for a united response to the need for justice and peace in our societies in Africa and beyond" (Faculty, Amani University, 2016). This faculty further suggested that the Amani University was driven by the need to bring up "the salt of the earth"—his symbolic reference for peace builders—as individuals "committed to bring changes that the world so desires." Furthermore, he maintained that peacebuilders do not emerge from only teaching peace theories or memorizing facts about wars and conflict; rather, they do so through programs that enable individuals to understand their roles in social change by "training students to construct their own meaning of love, peace and care, and then apply the knowledge in real world situations with the support of mentors who are experts in the field" (ibid).

The interviews with faculty and administrators revealed that the PCS program at Amani University emphasized an approach that encouraged students to learn from their social and cultural backgrounds as sources of knowledge in the approach to peacebuilding. This approach included adoption or a creation of a contextualized or local way of knowing about peacebuilding that was applicable through comprehensive utilization of local experts, internships and cultural immersions and outreach activities. I

return to discuss these aspects of the curriculum in detail in Chapter Six and relate to an institutional approach to peacebuilding.

At Amani University, the PCS program included certificate, diploma, bachelor and Master level training. The Certificate and Diploma level courses were short term ones and focused on training in conflict management, ethics and corruption, social justice, peace and advocacy, human rights and leadership training. The short-term courses mainly certificate, and diploma had the largest number of students, at around 300 each year. As the Director of Peace and Social Justice Institute suggested, the certificate programs are "short-term certifications in peace and justice programs designed for church leaders, human rights advocates, policy makers, educators, business people and religious groups." The majority of the students in this category were mature entrants meaning they were a little older past the ages of 19-24 as most undergraduate students in public universities.

Some of the students at Amani University were also professionals who needed training to bolster their knowledge and skills related to the tasks they were already working on in their respective organizations. For example, a senior national official who needed to train in conflict management. He explained:

> I have been working in the Ministry of Defense for a while. We do a lot of civil society relations, and recently established an Alternative Dispute Resolution Department. Now, I am supposed to lead some of the conflict resolution processes in the ministry, but I couldn't do much. I am here for six months for the Postgraduate Diploma in Conflict Management. (Student, Amani University, 2016)

This quote illustrates one of the students who was already a professional in the army who had joined a nine-month training program. Other students were practitioners from various fields, community level activists, church leaders and educators. I also noted that some

certificate level programs were offered at a full scholarship to community leaders (youth leaders, entrepreneurs, educators and church leaders), a practice that faculty suggested aimed to increase access to ideas and skills in peacebuilding to the local partners. At the time of the study, the bachelor's programs had a student population of about 130 while the master's programs, which lasts for two years, admits about 20 students each year. The masters level program, which is the highest level in peace and conflict studies at the institution, attracted students from various fields ranging from lawyers, journalists, development experts, security personnel and educators amongst others.

A major characteristic of the Amani University PCS program was the focus on practitioners through short-term certificate and diploma courses. The majority of the students were people working in the non-governmental sectors, such as church ministers, youth group leaders, activists, education directors and program officers in organizations working on matters of peace and security in the region. The peace and conflict studies program at Amani University had established partnerships with national and regional agencies such as the National Council of Churches and *Amani Mashinani Initiative*[18] to provide practical resources in conflict management and leadership. Moreover, the PCS program focused on training youth (mostly those who had not attained university entrance) in leadership, conflict management and entrepreneurship mostly through the Students in the bachelor's programs were immersed in urban communities to work on issues of peace and justice In Chapter Six, I illustrate in detail students' experiences and

[18] The Amani Mashinani Initiative was a project that aimed to achieve local or grassroots peacebuilding in the Rift Valley by involving local participants in communities affected by conflict, government officials, NGO partners and religious institutions, particularly the Catholic Church, more information in this resource (Korir, 2009).

engagements in the PCS programs at both universities and how those view their experiences in regards to transformations in skills, values and agency for peace.

Overall, administrators, faculty and students' perceptions of peace and conflict studies at Amani University were positive. Most faculty viewed these PCS courses as significant for the nation and world and were proposing the need for making some of the foundational coursework mandatory for all learners. Faculty considered themselves as called to service of peace and justice and they were eager to make connections between the university mission for peace and the transformations in the society. For example, a faculty noted:

> These courses are what we need in our society today because we have lost the values that make us coexist, see each other as a human and not just ethnic tribes. In fact, we recently had a university academic committee meeting as deans and one of the things we are proposing is to have a foundational course in peace and justice made mandatory for all students just as we have made communication skills and HIV and AIDS mandatory. We believe as an institute that these peace education programs when taken seriously can help us build some desired qualities which will expand our vision as a university in training transformative leaders for the service of the Church and our world. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

Additionally, students at Amani University had a strong passion for work in peace and conflict. For example, a student in the bachelors' program, told me, "I came into this program because I wanted to learn how to do peace work. As Muslim women, people think about us differently. I am interested in gender violence and religious peacebuilding. This is the right program for me. I hope to work in peacebuilding and support GBV [gender-based violence] projects in war-torn nations" (Student, Amani University, 2016). I return to discuss further on these programmatic aspects and students' experiences in later chapters and make comparisons to the initiative at Amani University and Umoja University below.

Context Similarities and Differences

Despite historical, philosophical and organizational differences between Amani and Umoja, a key similarity emerged. These two universities exhibited a shift in thinking amongst administrators and faculty that resulted in the establishment of academic programs, practices and community initiatives that centered around issues of peace, conflict, and social justice. Administrators and faculty at both institutions believed that universities are central in addressing violence, insecurity and ethnic divisions, and they hoped that peace studies curricula could provide means for institutional engagements with social transformation on campuses and within communities affected by violence. Despite the general dissent about the instrumental and economic nature of the PCS programs, participants at both institutions hoped that such program could contribute to conflict transformation. There was a common understanding that training in conflict mitigation, human rights advocacy and participatory leadership aligned with the university's tripartite roles of research, teaching and community service.

The major differences between Amani and Umoja University have to do with their public and private nature as well as their missions. Amani University is guided by a religious philosophy and foundation. The administration of the university believes that a Christian worldview is an important lens for seeing, understanding and solving the challenges of humanity. The mission of Amani University is to use higher education to impact the world in ways that embody a Christian worldview. As a university, there was an element of blending faith and reason and promoting a Christian worldview towards social justice particularly advocacy to end inequality, poverty, injustice and foster peace. The philosophical orientations to religion and social justice informed the creation of

specialized trainings that focused on members of the church, ministers, youth groups and practitioners working in matters of faith and peace. There was a strong collaboration with religious peace agencies and charity institutions, and this was not the case at Umoja University. Faculty who were mostly ordained in the work of the Church, as well as some students, viewed their participation in peace studies mostly as a vocation towards restoring peace and social justice.

On the contrary, Umoja University represents a contemporary neoliberal university in Kenya. The university management and policies were shaped largely by forces relating to funding and the need to meet high demands of higher education while also attempting to address societal challenges to peace. As a public and secular institution, the university worked to meet the national goals of higher education through partnerships with government agencies and international institutions partners to provide public education. The peace and conflict curriculum were designed to meet the demands for peace educators in secondary schools and to promote knowledge and skills in conflict transformation amongst young people and security personnel. The student body mostly consisted of first degree-seeking students, while the practitioners who were fewer mostly engaged in post-graduate specialized programs in peace and security studies.

A final difference between Amani University and Umoja University related to student life. As earlier noted Umoja University had a large student population of over 90,0000 compared to Amani University that had about 6,000 students in 2015. These differences in student population also related to the challenges in learning and teaching resources. The large student population in Umoja University placed a strain on the teaching and learning resources which as faculty and students narrated created challenges

in regard to the quality of teaching and learning. This was not the case for Amani University, which had relatedly smaller class sizes and had expansive classrooms fitted with modern equipment including WiFi connections. Moreover, whereas in Amani University there was no incidences of violence and unrest during my fieldwork period Umoja University experienced multiple forms of unrest, which had also characterized the majority of the public universities in the country.

Conclusion

A research context is important to the understanding of the findings of a study. In the field of education, scholars have suggested the importance of considering context-level factors and processes in understanding educational phenomena. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) argued that contexts are not containers where activities happen, but context is the activity itself. They demonstrated that sites of study are not autonomous because they are influenced by actions far beyond the "local context and current moments" (p. 13), and they proposed that such a context is not autonomous because it's influenced by various actors and events over time, "in different locations and at different scales" (p. 19). Understanding universities and peacebuilding calls attention to its interactions with the international and external environments.

This analysis of the context further reveals external processes that shaped the internal decisions for the establishment of PCS programs at the two universities. For example, the rationale for establishing PCS in Kenya, along with faculty and students' conceptions and experiences of peacebuilding, were examined in relation to influences at the personal, institutional (international and regional institutions) such as the role of the United Nations University for Peace in Africa and regional religious organizations as well as the high demands for university education in the country (Butera, 2012). The

approach provided insights into how HEIs relate to peace and conflict in Kenya, but with the recognition that this will vary by institution and is influenced by actors and institutions beyond the country's borders. This has been a useful way of thinking about context for my study because allowed me to examine PCS programs in a more complex and interconnected way.

The next chapter builds on this one by discussing conceptions of peace and peacebuilding among faculty, administrators, students and national officials at the two universities. In doing so I will aim to make connections to how individuals within the university and nation make sense of peace and conflict and how they view universities as well as university-level academic programs in the efforts to promote sustainable peace.

Chapter 5: Constructions of Peace and Peacebuilding

Introduction

In Chapter Four, I discussed the two institutional sites of the study: Umoja University, which is public, state-owned and secular, and Amani University, which is religiously-affiliated, private and regional. I analyzed institutional histories, ideologies, academic outlooks, student life and rationales for PCS programs. My analysis revealed that the two universities diverged in their approaches to higher education. The students' lived experiences and academic life also varied greatly between the institutions. By examining the context of the two universities, I established similarities and differences in rationales and approaches to PCS programs. More importantly, I argued that the establishment of PCS programs in Kenyan universities marked a shift in thinking towards the role of universities in peacebuilding. To examine how PCS programs were designed to foster peacebuilding, I first investigated conceptions of peace amongst participants who were directly involved in the policies or implementation of peace education within higher education institutions. These included national officials, university administrators, faculty and students. Throughout this chapter, I compare and contrast these participants' meanings of peace to other scholarly perspectives on peace, particularly Galtung's (1996) conceptions of positive and negative peace and Wisler's (2010) concept of peace knowledge.

I present seven themes related to participants' conceptions of peace: *Uwazi na undugu,* Ethnic cohesion and inclusivity, Good leadership, Sustainable development, Freedom from corruption, Absence of violence and Dialogue and reconciliation. These themes reflected participants' knowledge, aspirations, wisdom and lived experiences of

conflict and peace and also related to context-level factors that shaped peace and conflict in the country. I argue that while some participants' meanings of peace were similar to Galtung's ideas of negative peace, the majority of participants' notions of peace were particular to Kenya and espoused a context-specific or local way of knowing about peace. I suggest that participants' constructions of peace constituted a *peace knowledge* a concept that Wisler (2010) defined as "a region's own way of knowing and living necessary for its own creation and sustainability of a culture of peace" (p. 15). This chapter draws on the seven themes listed above to illuminate the intersectionality of the social, cultural and political processes as well as lived experiences in the understanding of conflict and peace in an African context. The diverse and localized perspectives on peace are critical for adequate theorization, policy-making and curriculum development about peace, education and sustainability in the region.

The chapter will proceed as follows: First, I provide an overview of scholarly perspectives on peace as suggested by Galtung and Lederach (an extensive discussion on scholarly conceptions of peace is captured in Chapter Two). I review these two scholars' works because their ideas of peace are not only seminal to the field of peace and conflict studies, but they have also guided peacebuilding interventions in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). I then examine participants' conceptions of peace based on the seven broad themes introduced above. I highlight similarities and differences amongst participants' views and relate then to Galtung's ideas as well as other national, regional and global policies and discourses about education and peacebuilding. Moreover, throughout this analysis, I will relate participants' views to Wisler's concept of peace knowledge.

Finally, I reflect on what the diverse and localized meanings of peace offer in regard to peacebuilding curriculum, theory and practice.

Overview of Peace and Peacebuilding in the Literature

Negative Peace and Positive Peace

Johan Galtung, who is often regarded as the founder of peace studies, asserted that peace entails "reducing violence (cure) and avoiding violence (prevention)" (1996, p. 2). He perceived violence to exist both as "direct violence" and "indirect or structural violence[19]" (p. 2). Galtung proposed two types of peace: negative peace, characterized by lack of direct violence, and positive peace, which seeks to create conditions that address all forms of violence. His views on peace informed what is now referred to as the liberal peace. Proponents of liberal peace underscore state-building, peace-making, free-market economics and democratic institutions as imperative in eradicating structural and physical violence (O. Richmond, 2006).

Richmond (2006) conceptualized the negative peace perspective into four categories: constitutional peace, civil peace, institutional peace and victors' peace. According to this scholarship, conflict and violence disrupt the normal functioning of the political, social and economic order. Thus, efforts for peace at the local, national, regional and international levels focus on building institutions, ending civil wars and establishing strong adherence to international norms as well as laws that build democratic processes (Amisi, 2008; Johansen, 2010). The constitutional element to peace proposes that rule of law, democratic political process, free trade and human rights are essential for national

[19] Structural violence refers to social condition, policies and formalized institutional processes that function to create disparity, inequity, racial/ethnic/religious disadvantage and marginalization. From a structural dimension, peacebuilding approaches take a critical view that questions existing structural patterns and propose changes within these structures aimed at addressing the disparities of structural violence. The cultural dimension refers to less conscious patterns related to conflict and peace which Lederach observes are significant for cross-cultural mediation (Lederach et al., 2007).

stability and peace. Richmond further suggests that victor's peace is one that comes through a military intervention where the winners dominates the losers resulting to an end in violence. Similarly, liberal peace proponents view military interventions, use of force and war as necessary options to protect the interests of nations. The civil perspective of peace includes utilization of aid, disarmament and humanitarian assistance.

The negative peace approach has guided peace-making and peacebuilding interventions in Sub-Saharan Africa and other regions that experienced inter-and intra-state conflict. For example, at the global level, the International Criminal Court, United Nations and World Trade Organization engage in resolving economic and political tensions and prosecute perpetrators of heinous acts of violence (Johansen, 2010). This approach to peace-making thrives on cooperation among states through signing of treaties that bind nations to uphold particular standards and principles such as human rights. In Sub Saharan Africa, the negative and positive approach to peace is promoted through institutions like the African Union, IGAD, ECOWAS, EAC and SADC (IGAD, 2015).[20] These negative and positive peace approaches to conflict, however, fail to deal with national and global power differences and interests that often guide interventions for peace. Moreover, the focus on universal processes of state formations and democratization as avenues to peacebuilding equally obscure local contextual level factors and processes that matter for sustainability.

[20] Acronyms full list provided in the abbreviations section at the introduction.

Peace as Conflict Transformation

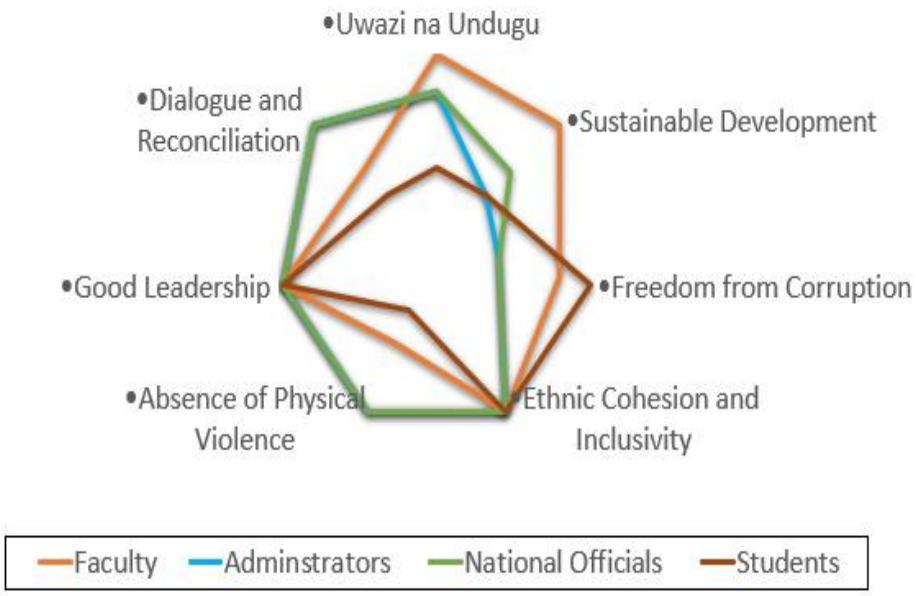
In an attempt to move past the limitations of the concept of negative peace and positive peace Lederach proposed the concept of conflict transformation, arguing that peace is both a social construct and a process (1997, 2003). For Lederach, in order to attain peace, meaningful human relationships and justice needs to be achieved through a web of activities that address personal, relational structural, cultural issues. Moreover, this concept acknowledges past atrocities of armed conflict compensation of victims and inclusion of their aspirations in the shared future peace agreements. Lederach maintained that a wide range of mechanisms and processes are necessary to address structural challenges and to build long term human relationships and infrastructures that can enable people to endure.

Lederach suggests that peacebuilding must address underlying issues that fuel conflict including strengthening leadership and fixing relationships (Lederach, 1997). While the conflict transformation framework shifted the focus on the human elements to peace, such as building relationships at the grassroots level, it inadequately attends to political dynamics of war and conflict that shape structural and social-relationships at the individual and community levels (Amisi, 2008). Despite their limitations, the conflict transformation framework and the concepts of positive and negative peace enable us to appreciate the complex nature of war and peace. The inadequate conceptualization of peace and approaches to peacebuilding further necessitates further inquiries into understandings of the nature of peace, particularly in Africa.

Constructions of Peace and Peacebuilding

In this section, I discuss understandings of peace by faculty, administrators, national officials and students. As earlier introduced in this chapter, seven themes emerged: *Uwazi na undugu*, Ethnic cohesion and inclusivity, Good leadership, Sustainable development, Freedom from corruption, Absence of violence and Dialogue and reconciliation. The figure below provides a summary of the themes and how various participants related to these themes. As I will illustrate in the discussion that follows, there were similarities and difference amongst participants views of peace and peacebuilding.

Figure 2 Participants Conceptions of Peace



Peace as the Practice of *Uwazi na Undugu*

In my study, faculty and administrative participants from the two universities as well as national officials, described peace as an outcome of openness to forgiveness, healing and reconciliation following incidences of conflict or physical violence or *uwazi*. This included openness to establishing relationships across ethnic groups that historically experienced strained relationships due to ethnic clashes and armed conflict. Related to the idea of openness was the views of peace as moments when people lived and practiced *Undugu (brotherhood/sisterhood.* The word *ndugu* in Swahili signify close blood relationships such as brother and sister, cousins or close friends or comrades expected to care and support one another. These two concepts (*uwazi and undu*gu) were loosely translated by participants into *openness and brotherhood*[21] in English. As a Swahili verb, *wazi* connotes that something is "open, clear, or evident" like in the case of an open door (in Swahili: *mlango wazi)*. Underlying these conceptions of peace were aspirations for a value system, beliefs and practices that constituted what emerged as *uwazi na undugu.* This view of peace cut across all participants who suggested that uwazi na *undugu* encompassed the practice of compassion, openness, care, generosity, justice, interdependence and a collective responsibility for a peaceful coexistence. The quotes from faculty at both institutions illustrate these perspectives on peace:

> Peace for me must be understood from our cultural and historical settings. You know we teach about cycles of violence, peace-keeping, diplomacy and so on… these concepts must be contextualized. As Africans, we cannot talk about peace,

[21] Throughout this chapter, I use *uwazi* and *undugu* in the Swahili forms because (as I will illustrate) the English translations do not provide the contextual meanings that these concepts connoted. The comprehensive and local images of peace, as expressed by some interviewees through the Swahili language—which is the national language in Kenya and lingua franca in East Africa—provided the cultural and semantic insights into participants' meanings of peace that form the primary argument in this chapter.

> when we *don't greet our next-door neighbors*. To me it's that moment when we are *open* in our *minds and hearts to speak* to people who hold different opinions and culture from us…the *open* dialogue is what breaks divisions. I think that when we are open, we create room for a common ground…we are allowed forgiveness and healing and [we] allow ourselves to learn from past mistakes. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

> The issue of peace of course began with people like Galtung who tried to define peace. It is not as they [theorists] say. Peace is not absence of war or absence of conflict or violence. I conceptualize peace as people living a holistic life. By holistic life I mean that people do not have *self-contradiction within themselves and the society* and they are *open*. Because people will always be in conflict but when people are *open* then we say there is a possibility for peace; and *to be open* we always say there must be *communication* and there must be *dialogue* and *reconciliation.* (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

In the above illustration, faculty suggest that "openness of the mind and heart" are a critical component for peace because of the potential to generate possibilities for healing and reconciliation following a conflict. The openness of mind and heart suggested individual's willingness to change their perspectives, attitudes and establish sustainable relationships. The ubiquitous reference to openness and peace led me to explore the meaning of this term in regard to the context of peace and conflict that participants mentioned in the interviews.

Other faculty and national officials viewed peace as the practice of care and positive perspectives about others. They observed that societies that experience armed conflict face the harmful effects of conflict such as anger, hate and bad memories of violence which inhibit individuals to forgive and value others. As such, the faculty imagined a pathway to peace through the openness forgiveness. A senior faculty and director of the social justice and peace studies program at Umoja stated the following in response to the question, "How do you conceptualize peace?"

> Peace and reconciliation processes are hard to come by because there is a lot of focus on infrastructural development, education, health and housing for people

> who are facing conflict. But the subjective elements of conflict are what fuels it, you know the culture of revenge, hate, and anger. After long periods of conflict, there is a human tendency to [seek] revenge, so to return to the idea of peace, one must think about healing and forgiveness. These are critical elements that we have seen around the world in South Africa to Colombia, people must accept to deal with memories of war, hate and violence and forgive. Holding onto the past hopes delays peace and I think when leaders rally communities to *open their* minds and hearts and imagine a better and different future which to me begets peace. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

These views of peace as love and forgiveness were presented by some faculty members at Amani University who reflected on the religious teachings of the Biblical Christ to suggest that love and care of one's 'neighbor' were necessary components for societal sustainability. For example, a faculty and church minister observed:

> We prepare our students to become the *salt of the world*, to spread the message of love; you know that love is the greatest of all [all commandments], love God and love your neighbor as yourself, we think of peace as copying the example of Christ about forgiveness. We forgive endlessly seven times seventy times, we must also create mechanisms to support victims of violence. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

These perspectives are examples of the human elements in dealing with anger and culture of revenge, which some faculty suggested are significant in dealing with cycles of conflict in Kenya.

Participants' views of peace as *uwazi and undugu* portrayed a local view on peace and an aspiration of a way of life that valued human interconnected as a family, community and nation. Bunting (2015), a peace studies scholar who worked for the Julius Nyerere Foundation and the Burundi peace negotiations in East Africa, argued that "*undugu* carries the meaning much more than comrade. It carries with it the idea of shared life, mutual responsibility for well-being and collective identity" (p. 18). Like Ikaweba, participants' meanings of *undugu* moved beyond kinship ties or comradeship to underscore values of human interconnectedness. Some faculty and administrators

repeatedly attributed conflict in Kenya and part of Sub-Saharan Africa to the depletion of value systems of *undugu*. For example, citing the case of the civil war in South Sudan, one faculty asserted that international and regional military interventions were failing because their focus was not on building values of "care for one another, brotherhood, generosity and kindness" which had been subverted by the desire for political power. A central perspective amongst these participants was that people despite biological, social and cultural difference can coexist in harmony if they believed in human interdependence. For example, some administrators at both Amani University and Umoja University emphasized that universities needed to inculcate values of equality, fairness, care, responsibility which they believe can contribute to peace and sustainability. For example, an administrator at Amani University asserted:

> To forge peace, we all must think about where the rain started to beat us. What happened to our *values*? How come we don't *care for our neighbors*? It is sad to see people celebrate when others are killed just because they are not from their ethnic tribes or they don't support their preferred candidate. So, peace cannot just be with oneself; how about peace in the *family, with neighbors, community or nations?* How can a few people be rich while the rest of them are poor? We must reach the level of feeling the suffering of others and be compassionate about the sufferings so that we make [build] peace. That's why I said it will be simplistic if we thought about peace to mean absence of conflict because it excludes matters of equality, health, education, gender and power. That why we are committed to raise a generation of leaders of integrity and responsibility [long pause] to transcend this rhetoric of ethnic identity that is happening in the country. (Administrator, Amani University, 2016)

This administrator's views were echoed by two faculty at Amani University and Umoja University who simultaneously reflected on the post-election violence in Kenya in

2007 and other resource-based conflict amongst the pastoralist communities[22] to express their aspiration of peace in relation to the values of *undugu*. One pointed out that:

> when we had post-election violence [in 2007] there were places in this country that life was going [on] as normal, *they welcomed victims of violence, women, children and IDPs* [internally displaced persons]. I know families that are foster parents to kids whose parents passed on in Kiamba. That's the kind of gesture we needed as community for us to say we are walking towards peace. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2017)

This faculty quote illustrates care and support to internally displaced people (IDPs) as an example of *undugu and uwazi* which the nation needed to restore broken relationships. In providing housing for IDPs the host families did not discriminate against ethnic groups but sought offer refuge and hope to victims of violence. This view of peace dovetails with the theme of ethnic cohesion which I expound on later.

Another faculty member cited a peacebuilding effort amongst the pastoralist communities to underscore the ideas and values of *undugu and uwazi*. Drawing on the *Amani Mashinani* project, a peacebuilding intervention that in the North Rift region of Kenya that was formed after the post-election violence of 2007 to illustrate (*uwazi*) *openness* and *undugu*. He observed that "the success of this project was mainly because of the theory of change: that building community, *openness* and forgiveness through dialogue builds peace" (Faculty Amani University, 2016). According to him, the *Amani Mashinani* project sought to create *uwazi* (openness) through activities that brought communities that were affected by conflict to extensive dialogue, interactions and sharing

[22] Pastoralist communities practice livestock husbandry and move from place to place in search of pasture for livestock. In Kenya the pastoralist communities also face ethnic clashes as a result of cattle rustling, fight over grazing fields and also cross-border conflicts(Cheserek, Omondi, & Odenyo, 2012; Schlee & Shongolo, 2012).

of resources facilitated by the local Catholic Diocese of Eldoret. This included the construction of water reservoirs, a bridge and a school on the border of the two warring communities (Korir, 2009). By doing so, children from both communities could learn together, appreciate others' identity while adults who were pastoralists shared and managed water resources for their livestock. He believed that the *Amani Mashinani* peace project succeeded because it provided the possibility for two ethnic groups to share a livelihood, build openness and community.

A national official in the Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) who was responsible for the coordination of the national peace education program introduced in Chapter One equally supported the view of peace as *undugu*. According to the official, the practice of *undugu* was necessary for building a national identity beyond ethnic group affiliation, which are manipulated in ways that catalyze conflict. The MoEST official asserted that peace is an image of nationalism and where individuals view others more as "Kenyans [rather] than their tribal or ethnic background" **(**National Official, MoEST, 2016). This national official considered PCS programs necessary for developing "patriotism and unity, based on the shared citizenship" (National Official, MoEST, 2016). For him, *undugu and uwazi* to meant relationships that bridge ethnic differences fueled the conflicts at the community and national level. However, the relationships between nationalism and peace are complex and marked with tensions. The push for a collective national identity is however problematic because it creates the tensions against the rights to preserve the diverse identities of Kenya's many ethnic groups. Rather, the focus here is the realization of a higher level of identity as a 'human' and what being human meant and how that intersected with the idea of peace.

Peace as *uwazi na undugu*, I maintain, reflect complex sets of relationships that are rooted within the cultural process, values and practices of communities in Kenya but are often disrupted through toxic ethnic-political practices. While the majority of ethnic clashes, violence and armed conflicts that have occurred in Kenya have been motivated by economic and political interests and have used ethnic identities as a way of cultivating an 'us' against 'them' narrative, which contradicts the values of oneness, human interconnected and care that *undugu and uwazi* advocates. The majority of the faculty, national officials, students, and administrators in this study hoped that a return to values of *uwazi na undugu* could redress the historical enmity between ethnic groups that have shaped conflict and structural violence. A faculty noted as follows:

> Ethnic tensions started after independence as people jostled for the national cake. Remember we were united against a common enemy to gain autonomy and self-rule. Off course not to say, we didn't have conflict and clashes before [independence], but I grew up at that time in now Maseno, we had all communities there—Kalenjin, Luhyia, Kisii and Luos. We celebrated and learned many languages, mingled around in many ceremonies and even intermarried. There was respect, tolerance and understanding across these communities. These days are now gone. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016).

The above faculty perspective further illustrates uwazi and undugu which included a shared livelihood across individuals of different ethnic groups.

Faculty and administrators viewed education as a major player in the development of values of *uwazi* na *undugu* through advancing values of ethnic cohesion, respect for diversity, openness and advocacy against different forms of violence. This views aligned with literature in peace education where scholars suggest that when structured well, educational curriculum can promote behavior changes, attitudes, cultural practices and perspectives that foster tolerance and peace (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Bush

& Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2005). However, as this study finds, higher education institutions, can inhibit values of *undugu na uwazi* through inequality in education access, nepotism, ethnic favoritism and a violent student culture. I develop these further in the section that follows on the second of the seven themes, peace as ethnic cohesion and inclusivity. This theme builds on *undugu na uwazi* in that it locates ethnic cohesion as a central component of human interconnected but differs in the sense that it also reveals the intersections of identity, politics and economic resources to peace and conflict, especially in Kenya.

Peace as Ethnic Cohesion and Inclusivity

Ethnicity, ethnic identity, ethnic violence and ethnic relations were ubiquitous terms used by participants as they discuss peace. By ethnicity, I refer to a collective identity based on shared history, culture, language, geographic distribution or political affiliations (Anderson, 1983). For most participants, meanings of peace and peacebuilding, particularly in Kenya, were not complete without considering relationships across ethnic groups and how ethnic identities shape daily lived experiences of individuals in various spheres. Faculty, administrators, students and national officials in separate interviews all illustrated that ethnic practices permeated the social, economic and political aspects of life in the country and had implications on relationships amongst individuals from the local and national levels. As a result, some of these participants viewed peace as the absence of poor ethnic relations, ethnic hatred, ethnic marginalization and ethnic violence. For example, a national official, who was a commissioner at the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), a body that

was tasked to foster peace and reconciliation after the 2008 post-election violence asserted:

> Today, we cannot talk about peace [in Kenya] without invoking this demon called *ethnicity* and corruption. These two go hand in hand. *We elect leaders mostly because they are from our ethnic groups*!" "people don't care much about integrity issues. When our officers try to chase down corrupt leaders, their communities come to their defense. I don't know how we will overcome *bad ethnicity, but that's one thing we must deal with ruthlessly if we care for peace* in this nation. (National Official, 2016)

As this national official stated, ethnic relationships defined leadership of the country. How various political leaders interacted had implications on sustainable peacebuilding in that differences between leaders percolated down to differences across ethnic groups. For this national official, building sustainable peace means building a strong national identity to overcome ethnic based differences as well as creating policies for inclusivity. As earlier noted, major political parties were formed around ethnic and linguistic identities and politicians often utilize ethnic groups to form a geographic base of loyal supporters (Chege, 1996). Major political parties were formed around ethnic and linguistic identities right from the country's independence. For example, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) drew members from Kikuyu, Kamba, Embu and Ameru and Kelenjin ethnic groups, while Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) had members mainly from the Luo, Luhyia and Mijikenda communities. For this official, establishing strong institutions of governance and economic stability is not enough for a divided nation, unless people see *undugu* beyond ethnic affiliations.

Faculty, students and administrators expressed similar views on peace as the absence of ethnic tensions and mistrust that characterized lived experiences of ordinary individuals in the country for many years. For example, a faculty at Amani University

narrated a case where she needed to apply for a national passport at one of the passport processing centers in the country. She explained that she experienced extreme delay in services because the immigration officer was not from her ethnic group:

> I went to apply for a passport, just because my last name doesn't ring with the person who was serving, she sat [delayed acting] on my forms for over two hours while over thirty people were taken care of…that's what we call negative ethnicity. (Faculty, Amani University, 2017)

Here this faculty was referring to a practice through which individuals names, particularly last names, can distinguish one ethnic group from another, and government officials used such information to offer preferential services to individuals that belong to their ethnic group. As such, ethnic based favoritism contradicts the ideals of *undugu* which emphasize the human identity above the ethnic and cultural identity.

The relationships between ethnic dynamics and peace in Kenya were also captured by a faculty who expressed that it was impossible for her and her family to live in other regions in Kenya because doing so would jeopardize their safety. She asserted:

> My children should be able to travel, stay and work anywhere in Kenya...but that's not the case because they [we] fear attacks. You can tell I am from central, you know I am Kikuyu, imagine me working or building a house in Luo Nyanza and vice versa. We cannot pretend that the country is peaceful when communities cannot stay together! We have a responsibility to make sure we are free to live as communities, as humans anywhere and not worry of [about] Luo or Kikuyu. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

This quote illustrates the national ethnic make-up and its relations to national identity, peace and sustainability. For example, the Western part of Kenya is habited by Luhya and Luo ethnic groups, the Rift Valley region by the Kalenjin, the Central region by Kikuyu community, the Eastern part by the Kamba and Meru, North Eastern by the Somali while Nairobi is a mix of almost all the tribes. Anderson (1983) called such ethnic alliances "imagined community," an ethnic identity of multiple groups brought together to pursue

economic and political benefits. However, in Kenya these geographical ethnic assemblages result in exclusion of minority groups and have the potential to foment conflict. For example, during the 2007 post-election violence, minority ethnic groups were evicted by the majority ethnic group, especially in the Rift Valley Province, resulting in over 800,000 internally displaced persons and loss of lives (Kriegler & Waki, 2009).

Negative ethnic relations were also reflected in the inequalities in access to education and employment. Most faculty and students expressed that managers tended to hire individuals similar ethnic group. At a national level, schools in regions that the president come from tend to be highly staffed and have better school infrastructure and high enrollment rates (Aluoka, 2016). The inequality in access to education is a critical issue because majority of the out-school youth are likely to engage violence. The table above provides some recent primary school educational data in Kenya (Kanyinga, 2006; NCIC, 2010) that shows the disparities in access to education opportunities by Kenya Provinces.

Table 1. 8 Primary School Enrollment by Province 1970-2001

	Province							
Year	Central	Coast	Eastern	Nairobi	Nyanza	Rift valley	Western	North Eastern
1970	24.5	5.5	20.2	4.3	16.4	14.2	14.6	0.3
1975	19.4	5.4	18.9	2.9	20.9	17.3	15.0	0.2
1980	17.7	5.9	19.4	2.5	20.3	19.4	14.5	0.3
1985	17.6	6.4	18.1	2.6	19.3	21.7	13.9	0.4
1990	16.3	6.7	18.9	2.7	18.1	22.9	13.8	0.6
1995	17.2	6.4	18.4	2.8	17.8	22.8	14.1	0.5
2000	15.0	6.5	19.1	2.8	17.1	25.6	13.1	0.8
2001	13.2	6.9	18.5	2.8	18.5	26.1	13.2	0.7

Adapted from Kanyinga (2006)

Table 1. 9 Distribution of Permanent Secretaries by Ethnicity 1963-2002

Ethnic Group	Kenyatta regime (Kikuyu)			Moi regime (Kalenjin)						
	1966	1970	1978	1979	1982	1985	1988	1994	1998	2001
Kikuyu	30 %	38 %	24 %	30 %	30 %	28 %	22 %	25 %	11 %	9 %
Luhya	13 %	8 %	5 %	11 %	13 %	12 %	6 %	14 %	11 %	13 %
Luo	13 %	13 %	10 %	4 %	7 %	8 %	13 %	4 %	7 %	9 %
Kalenjin	4 %	8 %	5 %	11 %	10 %	20 %	22 %	25 %	29 %	35 %
Kamba	17 %	8 %	14 %	7 %	10 %	12 %	13 %	21 %	4 %	4 %
Kisii	4 %	8 %	0 %	7 %	3 %	4 %	3 %	4 %	7 %	4 %
Meru	4 %	8 %	14 %	11 %	10 %	8 %	3 %	4 %	7 %	9 %
Mjikenda	9 %	4 %	10 %	4 %	7 %	4 %	6 %	11 %	14 %	13 %
Other	4 %	4 %	19 %	15 %	10 %	4 %	13 %	7 %	11 %	4 %
Total	23	24	21	27	30	25	32	28	28	23

Adapted from Kanyinga (2006)

The table above illustrates the manifestation of ethnic favouritism through state-level appointments which as participants express create ethnic disenfranchisement and disunity. The data shows the changes numbers of appointment based on the ethnic identity of the president. Ethnic communities from which the presidents came from attained not only attained higher educational opportunities during their tenure but also higher numbers of appointments in top government positions as well as other civil servant positions (Aluoka, 2016; Wamwere, 2003). This practices make political competition a race between ethnic groups (Kioli, 2013; Lynch, 2006; Malik, 2015).

Higher education institutions emerged in the interviews as spaces that epitomized ethnic divisions. Faculty and students expressed that university recruitment processes, student life and ownership of private universities as well as national distribution of higher education institution by ethnic groups intersected with ethnic identities in the country. Moreover, faculty and university administrators noted they are likely to experience opposition from local communities if they were not of similar ethnic group as the majority of the region where the institution is located. Students at both Amani and Umoja University explained that student government and housing often aligned with their ethnic identities. This was a reflection of the voting patterns in the national electoral process

whereby people often aligned their support based on ethnic identity of the candidates right from the parliamentary positions to the presidency. Some faculty and administrators repeatedly reflected on an incident that had happened at one of the local universities involving recruitment of the vice-chancellor. I will narrate the incident below because it portrayed the paradox of universities in peacebuilding but more importantly offers an example of local meanings of peace.

The incident involved senior government leaders, including governors, members of Parliament and a County Assembly Speaker from the North Rift region of Kenya who stormed Moi University,[23] a major public university Kenya which is predominantly inhabited by the Kalenjin ethnic groups. They were protesting the appointment of an Acting Vice Chancellor because he was not of the Kalenjin ethnic group. This professor of education had worked at the institution for over 10 years including over five years as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor for academics and research. The protestors rallied local community residents to paralyze learning at the university. These leaders protested that an 'outsider,' meaning not someone of their ethnicity, had been appointed to the helm of this public university (Agutu & Otenyo, 2016; Ollinga, 2016).[24] These protests lasted for about two weeks. What was striking about this incident was that the protesters were not

[23] Moi University is a major public university in Kenya, located in Eldoret and named after the second president of Kenya, His Excellency Daniel T. Moi. Eldoret is in the Kenyan Rift Valley and is mainly occupied the Kalenjin ethnic group which is the second largest population in Kenya.

[24] More information: Standard News Paper, Kenya, September 20th, 2016: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000216731/north-rift-leaders-storm-moi-university-in-protest-against-appointment-of-acting-vc

contesting the procedure of the appointment or the person's academic qualifications or managerial skills; rather, they objected to the ethnic identity of the candidate. This is why it is a clear example of Ethnic cohesion and inclusivity as a view of peace because it reflected a deeper level of relationships and *undugu.*

A faculty member discussed this incident in the following way:

> It worries me as an academic that my knowledge, skills, experience—name it, doesn't count anymore, but whether I am from a proper ethnic group! *[Silence and expression of shock by the interviewee]*. We know the roots of ethnicity in this country and unfortunately, it is now all over, I am not afraid to say that our classrooms…our universities, are now ethnic communities. What is worse is that even we, lectures, are losing the much-needed voice of reason. You will know this during the general elections *[referring to the presidential and parliamentary election to happen in 10 months]*, the mood changes, everyone is back in their ethnic cocoons, ready to vote not with their brains, but with their ethnic cards… When these politicians are voted in purely by their tribes, one cannot be surprised when they [politicians] demand similar ethnic leadership in universities. The bottom line [is], in this country ethnicity makes you or breaks you, depending on whomever you get as your judge. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

A year later, in 2017, the Moi University Senate carried out interviews to select a Vice Chancellor on permanent employment terms. Surprisingly, it emerged that the interviewing panel scored interviewees on ethnic lines (Wanzala, 2017). Panelists awarded high scores to candidates who shared the ethnic identity of the majority of the population of the region where the university is located. Most of the committee members scored the 'insider' candidate 99 percent, while scoring 'outsiders,' including the Acting Vice-Chancellor, about 40 percent. The panel recommended the 'insider' candidate for the position. This is an institutionalized form of negative ethnicity and violence which as participants noted was critical in conceptualization of peace.

The conundrum at Moi University is to a great extent a microcosm of the chaos—violence and tension that characterized Kenya and its universities in the past decades.

Mbembe expressed that "the university ceases to be a public good and more as a burden … a place out of which not much is coming, except disorder, chaos, and disturbance" (Mbembe & Pienaar, 2016, p. 1). When describing violent student protests over fees and racism in South Africa in 2016. However, these disturbances in the university are shaped by multiple factors outside of the institutions. This case shows how ethnic and tribal favoritism permeate the education sector in terms of academic appointments and formations of 'ethnic-based universities', but also shape political alignments in the country.

The Moi University incidence, I suggest, further demonstrates the tension between demands of education as a public good (at least in the public HEIs) versus the push for ethnic-based management and ownership of educational institutions. Strong ethnic representation in universities is associated with benefits to the wider ethnic group relating to jobs and students' admissions, and some participants believe that institutional survival depended upon ethnic support. The incidence raises critical questions about the role of universities in peacebuilding: How can university-based academic programs function both as subjects of study and as avenues for constructive social change within learning environments that are plagued by inter-ethnic tensions? How do faculty and students seek to achieve system wide changes and community service given the institutionalized ethnic profiling? It is important to consider how PCS programs have been designed to foster new identity and relationships in learning institutions and other sectors in the country. More importantly, these incidents related to high-profile administrative positions exemplified the ways that ethnicity has been utilized, institutionalized and normalized in Kenya and the implications of this for national peace

and stability. Approaches to peace through higher education in Kenya should consider how HEIs enable or inhibit ethnic cohesion and inclusivity.

Thus, in summary, ethnic relationship and ethnic diversity are critical in the understandings and approaches to peace in Kenya. The linkages of peace to ethnicity, I suggest reveal a Kenyan peace knowledge because it captures a Kenya way of knowing and lived experiences about peace and conflict which as Wisler argues constitute an "intellectual heritage necessary for a region's sustainability of a culture of peace (2010.p.15). As such discussions about peace in Kenya must consider the ways that ethnic identity is embedded with the social and political fabric of the nation and mediated by specific historical, social, economic and political events within the local context of a particular region.

The views on ethnic cohesion and inclusivity as a necessary component for peace and sustainability is particularly important for Kenya because it responds to the limits of institutional frameworks to peace. For example, while institutional approaches to peace advocate strong institutions of governance and democratic decision-making process, these processes work best in places where individuals are guided by particular ideologies and not ethnic identities, which is not the case in Kenya. For example, while peace by democratic means would dictates that the majority wins, in Kenya, the majority must be understood in terms of ethnic representations and inclusivity, because some ethnic groups have more voters which means they have an advantage over less populous groups. Similarly, ethnic and political violence in the region reifies ethnicity in the struggle for political power, representation. The intersections of peace, ethnicity and conflict provide insights into a local view of how ethnicity and ethnic identity intersects in ways that has

perpetuated tensions. I explore some of these aspects further in the next section on leadership and peacebuilding.

Peace as an Outcome of Good Leadership

Moving to the third theme, peace was viewed as an outcome of good leadership by many faculty members, students at both universities and nationals' officials at. They contended that leaders, especially in African countries, greatly shaped the national narrative about peace when they practice strong adherence to rule of law and promote the ideals of coexistence and ethnic cohesion. For example, many of the faculty noted that the Kenyan leadership at the time this dissertation was written greatly shaped the nations' economic, political and moral dynamics, which had implications on conflict and reconciliation processes. Other participants criticized African leaders for the cycles of armed conflict in the region. For them leaders were critical to peace if they can support, dialogue and reconciliation with political adversaries, advocate for integrity, fought corruption, honor political agreements, support free and fair electoral processes, lead equitable 'development' and an independent judiciary. For example, citing the conflict situation in Kenya and South Sudan a faculty said:

> Okay, Kenyans wake up in December 2007 and so we are very surprised that the island of peace in a sea of conflict is also now in violence. Why are you surprised? I have been seeing these things happen from the 1970s. The point I am making which goes back to the question you were saying *is that... a re-conceptualization of the notion of peace-building, involves an understanding of the reasons why people live together... and the mechanisms in place that allow people to live harmoniously, to share and to have a sense of belonging, that makes each and every one of them at ease and that allows them therefore to live in a context of peace.* And it cannot be a post-conflict thing. Let me just throw in something which I don't think you were asking but which I think is critical. When I go to the national question and I go to the state-society relations... I am essentially making a comment about *leadership.* That's exactly my point, that... *leaders are critical to this story and that... you* know... pick a quick example of South Sudan. We aren't talking about leaders, we aren't talking about leadership...

> and yet that is the critical challenge that *South Sudan* has. *In my opinion, the key challenge we face today around peacebuilding is leadership, we haven't paid attention to it as a long-term undertaking.* (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

This faculty cited the case of South Sudan to demonstrate that leaders' unwillingness to accommodate their differences and carry a vision for the future of the country contributed to the nation's relapse into civil war. This faculty did not acknowledge the geopolitical, historical and international forces that had perpetuated the conflict and how resources-based conflict drive sustained civil war in the country. However, his views related to a wider concern among other study participants who cited leaders' tendencies to extend term limits or illegal trade in minerals or condoning corruption as factors that create instability in nations.

The leadership theme was also expressed by a national official in Kenya who argued that contemporary leaders incited their supporters to violence to gain their national political agenda rather that provide guidance for peace. He explained:

> This country (Kenya) was burning when Kofi Annan came here with his team to help us. What they did was not a miracle per se, they only facilitated what our people have been doing since time immemorial, dialogue. When I was growing up, my father was part of the *baraza* (the village/ local-level governing council headed by a local chief), and I can remember them holding meetings every Wednesday to arbitrate land problems, marriage issues, theft, community projects or hold talks on drought or famine. Depending on the issue at hand people could pay fines but they focused on reconciliation. That's what Annan did here by creating a coalition government so that people don't fight, and I think we gained some levels of normalcy. But things *have changed, leaders are the ones inciting their communities instead of preaching peace*. The country cannot move on if no one is willing to cede ground and embrace dialogue that's why we are now appealing to them to meet and resolve this political stalemate, appoint new commissioners so that the elections proceed as planned. (National Official, 2016)

For this national official, leaders were key for the negotiations for peace, but they were also involved in creating militia groups that could be hired execute violence against political opponents. As a recent study by Aluoka (2016) showed, political leaders were

keen to use unemployed youth to create illegal gangs that they manipulate to gain access to resources or hire to commit violence against other ethnic groups. Aluoka stated his findings as follows:

> In Kenya, the fear of exclusion from political power and therefore contestation for economic resources has been associated with the rise of regional political militia groups that openly make themselves available to their leaders to drive the agenda of political ascendance. It is a peculiar development that entertains the rag tag militia gangs especially in the urban areas. Depending on political temperatures, the groups can neatly convert into political machinery for violent assignments to safeguard the political interests of the community. In certain situations, they have simply been seen as filling in the void created by the lack of the state services particularly security. Such groups include Mungiki, Baghdad boys, Jeshi la Mzee, Angola Musumbiji, Chi Kororo etc. Usually illegitimate gangs with powerful political networks, these are alternative channels through which the large unemployed youth take the opportunity to build political power and seek recognition. They can venture to defend the political turf of their ethnic patron leaders but in the process break the loyalty lines to the central state authority. In any event, this tends to weaken state legitimacy in the areas where the militia groups are most influential. The existence of these groups is sometimes fluid and shadowy, but their dubious centrality to politics in Kenya is now a reality (Aluoka, 2016, p. 34).

This quote further illustrates the relationships between good leadership, peace and violence. Political leaders in Kenya maintain ethnic militia groups, because they use them to protect their political interests. However, these groups often take on extreme ideologies and become unmanageable as they expand in numbers subsequently posing a huge threat to national security, peace and state legitimacy. Moreover, the Kregler (2008) Commission of Inquiry into the post-election violence in Kenya demonstrates political leaders utilized some of these militia groups to perpetuate violence to individuals from other ethnic groups.

The leadership component of peacebuilding is key in Kenya because present challenges of peace and conflict can partly be traced back in the post-independence leaders' failure to ensure transparent electoral process and poor management of national

resources (Kioli, 2013; Ogot, 2003). Lonsdale (1990) argued that nations are the products of their "arguments" (p. x). For Kenya, the first argument following independence was over issues of land. A lack of land for majority of the Kenyans and demand for national sovereignty informed the anti-colonial resistance struggles the *Mau Mau* that I discussed in Chapter One. However, after independence, leaders failed to stick to the original plan of equitable redistribute land, instead, they selectively provided a platform for a few African elites and close family members to amass land. These views are expressed by a student who argued as follows:

> We cannot talk about peace, when a small section of the society owns the entire country, when the masses languish in poverty, and corruption is everywhere, even here in the universities. There are no jobs. When women struggle to get jobs and elective posts…. We need a balance of resources, and justice for victims of armed conflict and violence. We need better leadership. (Student, Umoja University, 2016)

This student's quote captures what other participants noted about the historical injustices in regard to land distribution which political leaders have not resolved despite various national commissions of inquiry recommended land appropriation for victims of displacements.

Good leadership according to participants is lacking because top leaders are not selfless, but corrupt and divided along ethnic lines. As much as there are laws and policies to protect citizens and keep peace, leaders have not made conscious efforts to implement them. This particularly relates to policies on land, presidential term limits, electoral transparency and justice. Other faculty noted that Kenyan political leaders, especially the head of state, can spearhead the national peace by addressing historical marginalization and compensation for victims of violence. They cited the need to implement the recommendations of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission

(TJRC). The TJRC's main task was to promote peace, justice, national unity, healing and reconciliation following the 2007 post-election violence by "investigating and establishing a record of human rights violations by the State, since Kenya's independence in 1963 to 2008, explaining the causes of the violations; and recommending prosecution of perpetrators and reparations for victims" (Kenya Transitional Justice Network, 2013, p. 1). However, as one faculty member observed:

> Kenyan leaders have not implemented the recommendations of TJRC on land, unlawful killings and oppression we are now heading into an election. These [same] grievances are at play. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

Similar views were asserted my faculty at Amani University who believed that leaders could avert the political violence adhering to presidential term limits and supporting "free and fair electoral process and accept the will of the people" (Faculty, Amani University, 2016). As this faculty suggests, conflict is maintained and produced by bad leadership, especially refusal to cede political power and manipulation of ethnic ties for political loyalty.

Participants' views of peace as an outcome of good leadership further reveal an emic view of peace that matter for appropriate conceptualization of peacebuilding approaches in Kenya. Moreover, these participants' views on peace, I suggest, reveal the significance of leadership in influencing the performance of institutions of governance in ways that can either promote a culture of peace or exacerbate conditions that produce tensions and conflict. For Kenya, peacebuilding intervention should consider how to build integrity and selflessness among leaders. The next section furthers locates leaders as critical players for the achievement of peace through sustainable development, a theme that emerged among participants views on peace.

Sustainable Development, Socio-economic Justice

> We cannot talk about peace, when a small section of the society owns the entire country, and the masses languish in poverty. (Student, Umoja University, 2016)

Understandings of peace were intertwined with ideas of development and socio-economic justice and moving beyond relationships between family and communities (*undugu*), ethnicity and leadership to focus on the overall welfare of Kenya's population. These views cut across students, faculty, administrators and national officials. Peace was described in relation to good health care, quality schools, access to housing, dignity, employment, gender equality and economic well-being especially for the youth and '*mama mboga,*' [an ordinary citizen like a woman who sells leafed greens] who live from hand to mouth. Some faculty suggested that majority of the approaches to peacebuilding focused a lot on the political aspects such as power sharing amongst a few political elites, which they believed does not solve disparities in human conditions which are critical for sustainability.

Faculty and some national officials brought up the 2007/2008 peace agreement in Kenya that had resulted in the creation of a grand coalition government 2008-2013. In this new government, the chief opposition leader became a Prime Minister and other opposition leaders were appointed as ministers in the government. According to this faculty member, this approach was critical for restoration of political stability at that time, but he hoped that the long-term focus needed to address the conditions of living for the majority of the Kenyans. The quotes below illustrate these views:

> How can we talk about peace, when the majority of graduates are *tarmacking*[25]? Poor housing, no water and now poor education systems...food insecurity has over

[25] *Tarmacking* is a term used in colloquial form in Kenya to refer to people who are unemployed, an imagery of people walking on tarmac roads or streets in search for employment.

> half of the population…approaches to peacebuilding are mainly on the technical aspect of conflict, such as peace agreements and power sharing, but leaves out the human development…education, decent housing, health care…these to me matter a lot for lasting peace in our nation? (Faculty, Umoja University, 2017, emphasis added)
>
> The poor farmers, the *mama mboga*, the peasant, the unemployed all these must be represented, and their needs looked at. That's why I think when we think about peace we cannot leave out the need to fight corruption. Corruption complicates and impedes *development*, equity and democracy. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)
>
> we cannot talk about peace, when a small section of the society owns the entire country, and the masses languish in *poverty*…there are no jobs…women struggle to get jobs and elective posts… [there is] need to balance resources and [pursue] justice for victims of armed conflict and violence. (Student, Umoja University, 2016)

Others faculty, students and national officials envisioned the need for opportunities for individuals to make choices and become active agents/co-creators of their lives. For them, peace was threatened when individuals' freedoms and dignity were curtailed, such as in electoral processes where leaders are not elected in a fair and transparent manner.

Participants conceptions of peace in relation to economic and social development aligned with some scholarship and global debates that drive international development policies in post-conflict interventions. Proponents of international development approaches to peace, maintain that unequal economic relations within countries and across nations are the biggest contributors to conflict(Collier et al., 2003; Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). They advocate for resolving social-economic inequality as a long-term strategy for sustainable peace. In the same way, Lederach and Appleby (2010) averred that the ultimate purpose of peacebuilding efforts is the creation of a *just peace* "a dynamic in which the reduction and management of violence and the achievement of *social and economic justice* are undertaken as mutually reinforcing dimensions of

constructive change" (p. 23). Moreover, some of the participants' views related to Sen's (1999) ideas on justice and freedom. For Sen, economic and social development is contingent on freedoms and unfreedoms, or the presence or absence of choices or options that enable people to achieve whatever they deem significant for the futures they value for themselves, their families, and their communities. The less freedom, the more poverty and the more potential for conflict. Similarly, Collier's (2007) studies on economic indicators related to peace revealed a correlation between underdevelopment and cycles of conflict especially in regions where income inequalities are part of the grievance in a conflict.

These notions of peace as sustainable development and social and economic justice are imbedded deeply in the UN's mandate and across other international agencies. The United Nation (UN) Sustainable Development Goals 2030 (SDGs) propose that peaceful, just and inclusive societies are essential for the achievement of the SDGs (SDSN, 2015; United Nations, 2015). This global development agenda also recognizes the negative effects of violence on development (and poverty as a driver of conflict). The SDGs appeals for national commitments to eradicating violence and corruption, establishing sound governance structures and human development indicators (SDGs Target 16). Similarly, Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1999), the former UN Secretary-General, asserted that "[t]here can be no peace without economic and social development, just as development is not possible in the absence of peace" (SDGs Target 16.p.1). However, critics of the global development agenda often cite these projects as neocolonial strategies that powerful states use to gain indirect oversight of the poor and less powerful nations in the Global South. For them, exploitation of human and natural resources from the global

South, coupled with unequal global trade and debt traps and dependency on aid, inhibits development (Moyo, 2009; Acemogul & Robinson, 2012). As an alternative, they suggest strong governance structure to protect natural resources, investment in the youthful population, reduced external borrowing and local manufacturing of exports (Moyo, 2009, 2013). What these debates suggests is that economic well-being matter for peace and stability at national and global levels.

At the national level, in addition to what participants expressed, my review of Kenyan government policies on development further illustrate links between socio-economic stability and the attainment of sustainable peace. For example, Kenya's Vision 2030 a two-decade national strategic plan, identified the relationship between peace and development.[26] The Vision 2030 aims to make Kenya a newly industrialized middle-income economy with high living standards for all citizens by the year 2030. This vision is anchored on three pillars: the economic, the social and the political. Cutting across the three pillars are the quest for peace. The Kenya's Vision 2030 states that:

> Promoting peacebuilding and reconciliation to improve conflict management and ensure sustained peace within the country; and inculcating a culture of respect of sanctity of human life that restrain from the use of violence as an instrument of resolving personal and community disputes. This should start with the family, schools the church and all public institutions. (GoK, 2008)

Despite this elaborate policy, my analysis of development initiatives and stability in Kenya revealed that socio-economic development initiatives in the country were implicated in the reproduction of economic inequality and tensions. For some researchers

[26] Kenya's Vision 2030 was enacted in 2008, as the flagship government strategic plan covering the period-2008-2030. The plan aims to make Kenya a newly industrialized middle-income economy with high quality of life for all citizens by the year 2030. The vision is anchored on three pillars; the economic, the social and the political. Promoting peace and reconciliation are central components of Vision 2030.

have found that the selective (regional) distribution of infrastructure projects, such as building of highways, and economic development projects for youth over time contributed to income inequalities, regional marginalization and ethnic divisions that formed the basis for some violence (Aluoka, 2016; Kegler, 2008). Likewise, studies on youth and employment in Kenya have indicated that precarious conditions of living and poverty and limited opportunities for employment contributed to high-levels of crime rates and formations of illegal military groups that were hired to dispense violence especially in electioneering periods (Njogu, 2010; Sikenyi, 2017). At the regional level, Collier and Hoeffler (2004) indicated, amongst other factors, that that increased insecurity, militancy and civil wars in the Great Lakes region are linked with high levels of unemployment and poverty. Thus, it is imperative to reconsider development in the conceptualization of peace and peacebuilding both theoretically and practically, and especially in Kenya.

The views of peace as sustainable development and socio-economic justices dovetails with the theme of freedom from corruption, a theme I discuss in the next section. Corruption reduces the capacity of the state to provide basic services, increase income inequality between social classes. Similarly, corruption reduces decreases the investments of nations to invest in conditions that foster dignity and freedoms that participants aspire. I delve further in the theme of corruption in the next section.

Freedom from Corruption

The fifth theme related to the views of peace as freedom from corrupt practices or a society free of corruption. This view of peace was mainly proposed by students (especially students at Umoja University) and echoed by a few faculty and national

officials. The ideas of corruption and peace were namely pronounced in student interviews, and especially among Umoja University students. This may have been because these young individuals viewed themselves as victims of a culture of corruption in their institutions and the country at large. For them, rampant corruption contributed to income inequality and unemployment. They cited the nature of corruption illegal acquisition of land and property and unmerited award of university level certifications. One female student from Umoja asserted:

> You know sir, it is unfortunate because this institution [referring to the university] must also work hard to get rid of *corruption*. When you walk around this campus you will see signs that 'this is a corruption free zone, [Interviewee laughs sarcastically] we can debate…Some people don't attend classes but are assured of a clean grade! That is not different from a minister who colluded to steal money but goes unpunished because s/he has a big ethnic support. Land grabbing and *corrupt* acquisition of property in this country are big issues that people are uncomfortable to speak…*but they must end for us to say we are at peace*…or else, there will always be struggle and violence *kukomboa* [to deliver] the country. (Student, Umoja University, 2016)

In the above citation, this student compared the fraudulent acquisition of diplomas in universities to a government official who colluded to steal public resources but remained unprosecuted. This predicament further relates to the theme of good leadership. Here the student raises the point that if the national and political leadership is corrupt, then why would one expect the university to be a corrupt free zone. Likewise, how can one expect corrupt-free leaders to provide legislative oversight over issues of land grabbing or mismanagement of national resources? This students' views reveal the need for system wide changes and stronger institutions that can check on corruption.

Similar views were shared by other students who linked corruption to electoral malpractices and subsequent political violence within universities and in the general

election in the country. A student leader and peace studies major at Umoja University explained:

> Our [name of the students' organization] election is a big sham. Interference all over from the big office [implying the vice-chancellor's office] and politicians. They have a preferred candidate. Politicians have a big share because they fund student leaders to campaign. You must have seen on [name of local TV station] the [name of one of the student leaders] dishing out money, Ksh 2, 000 ($ 2 USD) to comrades online like nursery kids! Where can a student get all these monies? Why can't the university ban him from contesting? They can't, they fear the powers supporting him. You can call me after [the election date] the results will be what I am telling you —no need to vote because he will always win. These are the same individuals going to seek elective positions after university—I think they will continue to buy votes out there. (Student, Umoja University, 2016)

The above reference to university students' elections was quite significant because at the time of that interview, students had burned down a section of Umoja University's student. Students alleged interference by university administrators in the student elections and bribery in student government elections. This student further noted that corruption in students' governance was enabled by some administrators who collaborated with top student leaders to steal student union fees through inflated contracts to vendors for student related services.

A national official echoed these students' perspectives on corruption and suggested that corruption started right from independence. As earlier demonstrated some leaders favored individuals who shared an ethnic identity with them. He told me:

> This country dropped the ball, I would say right at independence, when we failed to grow the new baby [Kenya] for everyone. They certainly realized, *it was their turn to eat*, and that's how they scrambled for the national cake. (National Official, 2017)

Similarly, a faculty at Umoja University expressed that to fight corruption, the country needed leaders of "integrity to support [to uphold] structures of governance and rule of

law." She argued that "when electoral violations go unpunished, it creates an impression that there is no consequence for breaking the law which creates a state of anarchy" (Faculty, Amani University, 2016).

These views of peace as the absence of corruption can be termed partly as an approach to peace through institutionalism because it reveals an aspiration for institutions of governance to curb practices such as corruption. Advocates of this framework contend that countries emerging out of conflict have high levels of corruption because of weak governance (Bruch, Muffet & Nichols, 2016). However, my analysis revealed that in Kenya, corruption was intertwined with ethnic identities and political process such that governments leaders refrained from prosecuting the corrupt in the cases where ethnic and political loyalty was at stake. In other words, prosecuting corruption offenders risked the loss of popularity and votes, especially when such corrupt individuals hailed from large ethnic group or commanded huge political followings. On the contrary, individuals that had little political capital or hailed from less populous ethnic groups were easy targets for state level prosecution for minor corruption offences. As a result, corruption is broadly related to leadership, ethnic cohesion, sustainable development and the armed conflict in Kenya. I discuss these interrelationships further in the theme of peace as absence of violence.

Peace as the Absence of Violence

The sixth theme was the view of peace as the absence of violence which also relate to Galtung's concept of negative peace. This perspective emerged mainly amongst top university administrators and national officials. The administrators included a vice chancellor (President of the University), two deputy vice chancellors, two heads of

departments, a head of a peace institute and an associate dean of academic affairs and six national officials. To these participants, a proper conceptualization of peace meant reflecting on moments when communities and nations experienced violence, civil unrest and armed conflict. They suggested that armed conflict was a common phenomenon during general elections in Kenya and those were the periods when these regions experienced all forms of violence. For example, a national official at the NCIC expressed as follows:

> this country has a history with *political violence*, right from the KANU era when we had one-party rule. Periods before general election are always *tense…you can hear the drums of war* everywhere and people spreading all manner of hate speech. Right now, my officers are investigating a popular politician who is planning violence to intimidate their opponents and we also have it on record some leaders recently asked their voters to evict non-local. We cannot sit back and see the country burn in violence. That's why the commission is working round the clock to prosecute the suspects and that will send a message to everybody that *violence* cannot be tolerated. (National Official 05, 2017)

This quote illustrates forms of physical violence that happens in the country such as eviction of particular ethnic groups and hate speeches that entrench animosity that can catalyze armed conflict especially during general elections. Thus, peace for him could be best described as times when the nation did not experience post-election violence and inter-ethnic clashes.

Some administrators used the case of violence in Kenyan schools and universities to demonstrate their perception of peace as the absence of violence. In 2016, Kenyan secondary schools and universities experienced a massive string of violent student strikes due to unbearable living conditions in dorms, too many examinations and what they referred to as strict rules (NCRC, 2017). As noted in earlier Chapter Four, Umoja students burned down the students' offices. These actions prompted the University Senate

to close the institution for two months. Administrators made references to these incidences in their assertions of peace. A university chancellor asserted that, "peace is when students are disciplined. We don't want to see student in riots and violence. But these students copy what politicians do—they are violent. Civil servants are always on strike. How can we say we are at peace?" (Administrator Umoja University, 2016).

This view was also shared by a top administrator at Umoja University who suggested that politicians were involved in funding students' political movements and strikes with the hidden agenda to oust the current leadership while bidding to "propose their candidate into university leadership" (Administrator, Umoja University, 2016). These administrators viewed physical violence was a national challenge that spread beyond learning institutions that needed attention to ensure sustainable means of conflict resolution. A deputy vice-chancellor noted the need for "mentorship programs in universities as "a sure way to establish a culture of peace" (Administrator, Umoja University, 2016). These perspectives were further echoed by another administrator who suggested that the younger generation lacked good role models to guide them in how to "avoid violence as a means to conflict resolution" (Administrator, Amani University, 2016).

In contrast to faculty and administrators views on violence and peace, some students viewed non-violent actions such as dialogue with administrators as inadequate for resolving disputes, especially in Kenyan institutions of higher learning. They proposed that forceful approaches (through organized riots and civil actions) worked to get the attention of the university administrator or government officials to change

repressive policies. For example, one student that was a Peace Studies major asserted that strikes were only for students to:

> Make a statement that would yield action, some of the strikes were based on demands for better living standards, university interference in students' governance and harassment from the police, and run-away corruption. (Student, Umoja University, 2016)

This student was referring to recent students' strikes at Umoja University about high tuition fees and high levels of insecurity which I describe in Chapter Four. For most of the students, violent actions are a collective expression of dissent against social injustices which they considered are a hindrance to peace.

Faculty at Amani and Umoja Universities had contrary views on peace as the absence of violence as they found such views limited in capturing the complexity of peace and conflict in Kenya. While some faculty acknowledged that absence of violence was one way of understanding peace in Kenya, some faculty maintained that such a perspective was limited because it did not reveal critical issues such as that all the other themes present. The faculty further noted that the socio-economic inequalities or structural violence can be present in the absence of armed conflict. A comprehensive approach to peace as noted by most faculty and national officials build on a culture of dialogue and reconciliation in addition to the themes discussed above. I discuss the final theme as below.

Dialogue and Reconciliation

The seventh and final view on peace was that it is enabled by dialogue and reconciliation. These views were expressed by some faculty and national officials. For them, dialogue and reconciliation were traditionally valued in most of the Kenyan communities as a means towards conflict resolution. Faculty characterized dialogue and

reconciliation as intentional efforts of speaking to a neighbor or meeting as groups with the aim of resolving a conflict. For them, the forgiveness of perpetrators of violence was permissible even though this contravened international criminal laws. Participants perceived reconciliation through forgiveness as a necessary process for collective healing and rebuilding of new relationships. For example, a faculty member at Umoja University spoke at length about how dialogue and reconciliation is a primary conflict management practice in Kenyan:

> Dialogue and reconciliation are very much emphasized in the African culture and African approach to doing things, we go to our neighbor to discuss and talk about our issues and challenges, we do not spill it out there. In fact, the courts of law are very recent, and he alluded to the fact that "the ICC [in Kenya, or Sudan] has failed, because you see President Bashir from Sudan is under warrant of arrest, if he comes to Kenya or South Africa, the court [ICC] asks that we arrest him. But, these guys have their own approach to these issues and they are going to tell you well, we can talk about it, we won't arrest this guy. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

While these processes are not without fault, participants revealed that dialogue and reconciliation were key for restoration following post-election violence in Kenya. As in the following quote this national official goes on to suggest that:

> The peace situation in this country is urgent now more than ever otherwise we will soon be a hopelessness nation. It is chaos all over…we saw our members of parliament exchange punches on the floor yesterday because they could not agree to disagree. Each side [referring to the ruling party and the opposition] is adamant, they know best how to play party politics and tribal cards. When a senior politician makes statements that he knows is hurting a section of Kenyans is divisive. The hate speech that the country is witnessing is dangerous because out of such hatred comes mass killings. We are reaching out to these team, asking them to allow *dialogue* and put the nation first, thing about bringing ethnic groups together and stop hate speeches. (National official, 2017)

> Leaders must stop chest thumping and embrace dialogue. They have no option. This is not to say that we want collision governments, but they must start talking to one another. We have lost more than a hundred thousand jobs and so many firms are prepared to lay off workers. Don't plan for the future, plan for political stability for the country right now (National Official, 2017)

In these interviews, national leaders explained the need for dialogue as a means to peace, especially among leaders. For them, moments of national crisis required leaders to bury their political differences and dialogue to find ways of resolving the national crisis. Another faculty cited the need for dialogue and reconciliation amongst ethnic groups that have carried over inter-generational divisions. She argued that, "the [ethnic group] feel they have sacrificed for the democracy of the country (Kenya), but they have been betrayed by [ethnic group]. When we talk about peace, these two communities and their leaders must reconcile, dialogue to form new relationships" (Faculty Umoja University, 2016).

On the contrary, other faculty viewed dialogue and reconciliation as limited approaches to peace because they perpetuated power imbalances and often precluded justice for victims of violence subsequently normalizing violence. Others noted that domestic and gender-based violence was often not included in the national healing and reconciliation debates, yet the collective trauma of such actions needed proper consideration. As a result, the nation often celebrated a decrease in physical violence without considering all segments of the population. A faculty asserted:

> It is very common to hear everyone say we need dialogue that we need to reconcile and move on…wait and see after the election, that will be the tune, but I ask them, 'we move on to where?' Not when we have six out of ten women experiencing all forms of violence and discrimination. We cannot burry our heads in the sand and pretend everything is okay. We must seek to address the gender inequality and provide equal opportunity for all. As a country, we get in a state of anarchy if people can commit crime and all we do is to reconcile. Yes, let us reconcile but also punish offenders. Let those who have stolen from the country return the resources before we pardon them, if not jail them and teach others a lesson. (Faculty Umoja University, 2016)

These views were shared by another faculty from Amani University suggested that dialogue and reconciliation processes were not free from political interference and corruption, especially when dealing with land repatriation issues. His views related to other studies in the country that indicated that blanket immunity for past political leaders often created the belief that there were no punishment for their heinous crimes albeit justice was essential to the restoration of justice and peace (Wolf, 2006).

A student expressed the dilemma of dialogue and reconciliation as it relates to the need for accountability and justice for victims versus the hope for a new future through reconciliation. Citing the case of the post-election violence in 2007-2008, this fourth-year student explained that the experience of his own relatives who faced eviction and others that lost their lives:

> You will hear people just say, 'accept and move!', I think they say so easily because *hawajakiona* [they haven't tested or experienced] violence. My uncle lost everything in 2007, his house and cattle were gone. He has never gone back to his land and I don't think he plans to do so anytime soon. He knows people who chased him from his land but none of them has been prosecuted...For me peace is not just *reconciliation* and moving on, those who chased my uncle need to be prosecuted fast before we talk about national unity. (Student, Umoja University, 2016)

For this student, blanket reconciliation mechanisms muted attempts of their family and relatives to receive justice and compensation. He believed that dialogue and reconciliation processes were an easy way for powerful individuals to evade accountability.

The multifaceted perspectives on dialogue and reconciliation processes suggested their limitations and opportunities for peacebuilding. A major advantage of these processes is that they enhance non-violent approaches to conflict transformation. Galtung (1996) equally acknowledged that peace not only required the "reduction of violence of

all kinds, but also the use of non-violent and creative conflict transformation" (, p. 10). In Kenya, perspectives of peace as an outcome of dialogue and reconciliation aligned with the ideas of *uwazi na undugu* which consider forgiveness and 'brotherhood' for sustainability. However, as these participants clearly demonstrated, dialogue and reconciliation processes must be creatively designed to counter power dynamics, representation, political interference and create avenues for restorative justice for victims. As a result, dialogue and reconciliation that draw on the local knowledge of affected communities can complement international and local legal processes in peacebuilding.

Discussion

What constitutes peace is contested among scholars and practitioners just as conflict remains poorly understood in the literature. The difficulty in conceptualizing peace, according to some scholars, stems from the multidisciplinary nature of the phenomenon (Danish 2000). However, Galtung's concepts of negative and positive peace, and Lederach's conflict transformation model, have greatly shaped modern debates about peace and peacebuilding in the global North and South, including in Kenya. In Kenya, international peacebuilding efforts focused on punishment of perpetrators of heinous crime at the International Criminal Court. This approach was viewed a necessary component to deter future occurrence, but as this study demonstrate, participants aspire for a comprehensive peace that restores broken relationships, livelihoods.

I however argue for local understandings of peace which builds on Wisler's (2010) concept of peace knowledge. Participants in this study understood peace as *uwazi na undugu,* ethnic cohesion and inclusivity and dialogue and reconciliation which

emphasized the practice of care, tolerance and solidarity that builds on the values and philosophy of human interconnectedness. Other themes related to freedom from corruption, good leadership and absence of conflict and sustainable development which illustrate system level issues that affect individual lived experiences and well-being. These themes capture a people's knowledge of peace based on their lived experiences and aspirations of what a peaceful society looks like. These views of illuminate local dynamics such as ethnic identity, political related violence or approaches to leadership as fundamental to national peace in Kenya.

My analysis of participants' views of peace revealed great similarities and differences amongst participant groups on their views of peace. A major difference in views of peace related to distinctions in regard to the demographic characteristics of the study participants. The young participants who were mostly aged between 20 and 24 years had a militant perspective for peace. For them, violent approaches were part of the process of rejuvenating change and achieving sustainable peace. This perspective on peace and activism were prevalent trend in the continent, where young people have become critical in the struggle for change such as the Fees Must Fall Movement in South Africa. Students also viewed themselves as the alternative voices for a future free of corruption. The younger population also saw themselves as non-beneficiaries of corrupt practices and pushed for corruption free leadership as part of the peace agenda. It was also evident that faculty from Amani University (a religious private university) some of whom were religious ministers drew on the religious teachings and philosophies in their discussions of peace such as the Christian perspectives on forgiveness and reconciliation. These views widely related to the calls for dialogue and reconciliation which other

scholars noted were part of the traditional ways of solving conflict in most communities in the country.

The primary similarity in participants' perspectives of peace related to the aspirations for values of human interconnectedness and cohesion through *undugu, uwazi*, ethnic cohesion and inclusivity and good leadership. Majority of the participants often referred to the need for a collective identity, for visionary leaders of integrity and for an end to ethnic-based difference which as demonstrated were key issues to peace and sustainability in the nation. The views of peace as sustainable development and freedom from corrupt practices also aligned with these issues of good leadership which participant's advocate for as a long-term strategy for maintaining peace and justice.

I maintain that participants' constructions of peace reflected local, national and regional understandings of peace, thereby constituting a Kenyan peace knowledge. For example, peace as the absence of conflict and formidable institutions of governance and aligned with the negative peace approaches that shared by Galtung. However, I argue that physical violence in the case of Kenya was mediated by local factors that related to inter-ethnic relations, economic well-being and political representation. Rather than adopting a universal view of peace through 'democracy,' participants expressed knowledge of peace and conflict mainly through their lived experiences of stained ethnic relationships, corruption, underdevelopment and a lack of good leadership. These constructions of amity reveal the centrality of ethno-nationalism and ethno-political assemblages that characterized political power and state legitimacy and their implications to national and regional peace. Negative ethnic relations, poor leadership and physical violence are experienced in other Sub-Saharan African countries, such as Ethiopia and South Sudan

(Kioli, 2013; Lynch, 2006; Malik, 2015). As such, participants' views of peace illuminate issues that are also region-wide and significant for future peacebuilding efforts.

Peacebuilding approaches in Kenya, in particular, ought to address poor ethnic relations, corruption, a culture of violence, values of uwazi na undgu, dialogue and reconciliation and economic well-being. In doing so, the findings discussed here did not aim to create a dichotomy of the "local" versus "global" distinction nor suggest a view of the "local' understandings as superior to externally driven approaches to peacebuilding. Rather, the findings point to the complex nature of peace and the imperative in utilizing local knowledge and wisdom in building sustainable peace.

Conclusion

A challenging task in my analysis was how to make sense of the diverse views of peace from students, faculty, administrators and national officials. Participants' lived experiences of conflict and peace were different and so were their definitions of peace. A common idea amongst participants was that peace was a process that addressed all forms of violence and issues that allowed individuals to function and coexist as a community. Participants' conceptions of human interconnectedness through *undugu na uwazi* and ethnic cohesion, sustainable development, dialogue and reconciliation, the role of leadership in ending corruption, economic inequality makes sense to participants because it builds a comprehensive and interconnected view of peace and conflict mediation that is relevant for Kenya and the region. I maintain that these views of peace reveal local realities, lived experiences, values, aspirations, knowledge and wisdom about peace in the region.

As global and national policies point toward educational interventions for peace and sustainable development, it is essential to examine how local knowledge about peace and development can be identified and utilized. Higher education institutions are implicated as institutions that can reproduce and maintain practices that exacerbate conflict or take on roles that reform societies experiencing tensions. In Kenya, participants' interviews reveal that these institutions are heavily affected by the very problems that face the wider society particularly poor ethnic relationships and violence. As higher education institution in Sub-Saharan Africa adopt peacebuilding programs, it is essential to consider how these programs are designed to challenge the barriers to peace and the ways they draw on the local knowledge and resources to foster ethnic cohesion, undugu na uwazi, good leadership and anti-corruption. The next chapter examines these issues as it delves into how faculty designed and taught in PCS programs as well as students' experiences of these academic programs. In particular, this chapter relates to the next one by linking how faculty utilized their lived experiences and knowledge of peace in designing context-specific PCS programs that aimed to generate agency, skills, knowledge and values for peace amongst students.

Chapter 6: Faculty Utilization of Peace Knowledge and Critical Pedagogy

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I examined understandings of peace and peacebuilding by numerous actors. These included national officials who were involved in shaping policies about peace education, faculty who designed, administered or taught Peace and Conflict Studies and students who participated in these academic programs. I maintained that although their constructions of peace broadly related to Galtung's (1969) notion of positive and negative peace, these constructions were also particular to Kenya and espoused a local way of knowing about peace. Participants understood peace as an outcome of the practice of *uwazi* (openness) and *undugu* (brotherhood), sustainable development, freedom from corruption, ethnic cohesion and inclusivity, absence of physical violence, leadership, dialogue and reconciliation. These views of peace emanated in part from individual's tacit knowledge and lived experiences of peace and conflict, as well as their imagined notions of a peaceful society. These experiential and contextual conceptions of peace, I suggest, constitute a *peace knowledge*, a concept that Wisler (2010) defines as "a region's own way of knowing and living necessary for its own creation and sustainability of a culture of peace" (p. 15). Furthermore, I argue that participants' views of peace revealed a relational nature of peace, in which as much as peace embodies universal principles and conditions for wellbeing and coexistence, perspectives of its manifestation are mediated by individual lived-experiences, aspirations and context-level factors that shape multiple human relationships.

In this chapter, I further my analysis of higher education, conflict and peace in Kenya by focusing on faculty members and students' experiences in Peace and Conflict

Studies (PCS) programs at Umoja University and Amani University.[27] I draw on faculty and student interviews as well as participant observation notes from classrooms, community outreach events, and on-campus environments to examine how faculty enacted peacebuilding through PCS programs. The chapter responds to the following questions: How do faculty design, teach and implement PCS programs? How, if at all, do PCS faculty draw on *peace knowledge* in their teaching? How do students perceive their experiences and perspectives in peace studies courses? As stated in Chapter Four, peace and conflict programs were implemented with the hope that they could foster conflict transformation and support the nationwide policies on education and peacebuilding (MoEST, 2014). Examining how the faculty teaching approaches, students' experiences and program design and implementation can generate insights into how policies on peace and conflict are taken up and implemented, but also reveal the benefits and limitations of PCS as university avenues for peacebuilding.

Within this chapter, I provide an overview of the key concepts of local knowledge, peace knowledge and critical pedagogy. Using a conflict transformation framework, I then examine how faculty designed and taught PCS curriculum to foster conflict transformation. I draw mainly on faculty interviews about their PCS studies

[27] In Chapter Four, I established that the institutional context at Amani Umoja and Amani University were different. Amani University was founded on moral and religious ethics and philosophies that were anchored in the intellectual traditions of the founding Christian denomination. Moreover, administrators and faculty at Umoja University viewed their institutional engagements as part of their religious call to peace and social justice. In contrast, although Umoja was supposed to provide higher education as a public good, the neoliberal push has led this institution to incorporate forms of privatization and marketization of higher education services. At Umoja University, administrators viewed PCS as a market-based response to the national and regional demands for experts in peace and conflict as well as a source for financial sustainability.

programs and my classroom observations to map out the intersections of curriculum design and content, pedagogy and transformative outcomes. Additionally, I incorporate students' experiences of PCS programs to highlight the transformative aspects that these academic interventions yielded as expressed by participants. In the last section, I discuss the limitations that faculty faced in the implementation of PCS programs. I also reflect on the implications of local knowledge, peace knowledge and critical pedagogy in modern peace education programs both practically and theoretically.

Overview of Local Knowledge and Peace Knowledge

The relationship between local and global knowledge and practices is a subject of contestation, especially in the field of Comparative Education. For example, proponents of world culture theory argue that systems of education are similar across countries despite the different elements of each nation and cultures (Bromley, Meyer, & Ramirez, 2011; Carney, Rappleye, & Silova, 2012; Wiseman, Fernanda, Rodrigo, & David, 2011). Other scholars have critiqued such a homogeneous perspective, arguing that it fails to account for local and national-level factors, power relations and the processes that shape educational practices and policies (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Bartlett, 2003; Jungck & Kajornsin, 2003). Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) further asserted that while policies, practices, and knowledge are produced within specific contexts, the practices are not rigidly bounded geographically or temporally. This is because of influences from outside the local environment and due to historical relations, such as colonialism, which continue to influence the present. Educational practices and ideas that emanate from disparate places can travel and take on new forms in other local environments as in the case of outcomes-based education in South Africa or learner-centered pedagogy in Tanzania,

which are mediated by social, cultural and economic factors in the respective countries (Spreen, 2004; Vavrus, Thomas, & Bartlett, 2011). These debates also extend to the field of Peace Studies or Peacebuilding as scholars critique the Eurocentric approaches to peacemaking that characterized the better parts of the 20th century and the universal nature of them (Lederach, 1997).

A local focus in peacebuilding theory and practice denotes a departure from externally directed and universal approaches to peacebuilding. Instead, focusing on the local draws attention to the significance of context, particularly, local communities and local people as primary agents for peace (Lederach, 1997; Roberts, 2011). Ginty and Richmond (2013) further argued that local voices and local agency are part of an empowering process in peacebuilding because they possess lived experiences and tacit knowledge of peace that matter for long-term peacebuilding. Similarly, Roberts (2011) asserted that daily lived experiences are a product of individuals' negotiations of their environmental, political, social, cultural, economic, local and global processes that limit or empower them. Although the focus on the local actors in peacebuilding often ignores the power struggles about whose voices count or what is left out in the constitution of local views of conflict or peace, it is a significant conceptual and analytical tool in examining faculty approaches to peacebuilding through peace studies.

In light of the above discussion, it is clear that the concept of local knowledge is one that has a variety of meanings and has been critiqued by some scholars. However, I find it to be a useful term to examine both context and a way of knowing that emerges from individual's negotiations of their lived experiences, particularly in regard to their understandings of conflict and peacebuilding. I note that local knowledge is not

geographically bounded, because actors (faculty) were constantly involved in the process of selecting and incorporating useful aspects of conflict cases from other sites to their syllabi while paying attention to 'local' identities and realities. However, local knowledge does reflect particular concerns of a territorial nature. For example, in the case of Kenya, land conflicts between members of different ethnic groups related to grazing fields amongst pastoralist communities and specific colonial and post-colonial histories have made certain social distinctions more salient in the present era.

The discussion of the local knowledge dovetails with the concept of *peace knowledge* which I introduced in Chapter One and discussed in Chapter Five. Wisler (2010) defines peace knowledge as one part of a region's intangible, intellectual heritage that constitutes its way of knowing and living, necessary for its own creation and sustainability of a culture of peace. Consequently, cultural processes underlie both local knowledge and peace knowledge. I will refer to 'culture' not as a static entity but rather concur with Bartlett and Vavrus' (2017) conception of culture as an "active, ever-changing, productive process of sense-making in concert with others" (p. 10). In line with these scholars' views, culture is not a single set of practices or a single identity, and it is not negotiated in the same way by individuals within a single country, such as Kenya. The differences in the ways that individuals make sense of their lived experiences is particularly important because, as I will suggest, even *peace knowledge* entails pluralities or diversity. People in similar localities negotiate their everyday lived experiences differently, as was the case in the two Kenyan universities in this study. The diverse understandings and approaches to teaching peace constitute a robust view of a complex

concept such as peace, even though it is still possible to discern some similarities as in the faculty members' espousal of critical pedagogy.

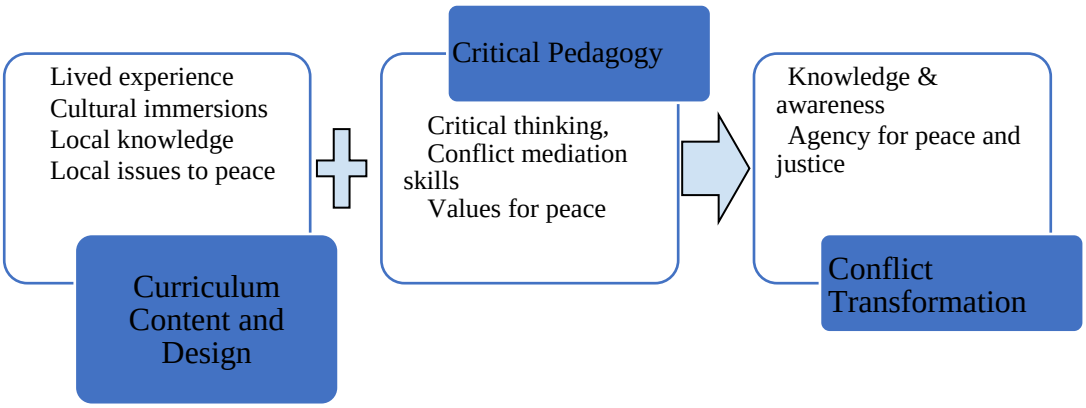
As I will make a case that faculty utilized teaching practices that related to critical peace pedagogies, it is essential to provide a brief overview of the concept. Critical pedagogies refer to teaching approaches aimed at liberating learners through developing their critical consciousness and empowering them to take actions against systems of oppression in their societies (Freire, 2000; Giroux, 1988). Critical pedagogy in peace studies is associated with critical peace education (CPE), which emerged as a critique of traditional peace education that took a normative approach and often ignored power inequalities and transformative agency for participants (Bajaj, 2008; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Standish, 2015). CPE proponents support peace curricula and pedagogies that consider multiple forms of (in)justice and foster the capacity of participants to emancipate and liberate themselves from systems of oppression within the wider society (Bajaj, 2015; Brantmeier, 2011; Haavelsrud, 1996). In doing so, critical pedagogies in peace education adopt research and teaching that are context-specific to examine conflict and various forms of violence—including structural or cultural violence (Galtung, 2008). Throughout the following chapters, I will particularly use critical pedagogies to refer to theories, research and teaching aimed towards increased local understandings of how participants can cultivate "a sense of transformative agency" (Bajaj, 2008, p. 135). Having provided this introduction, the next section will discuss how faculty in both institutions utilized local knowledge in the design and teaching of the curriculum—an approach I maintain contributed to a context-relevant peace curriculum

that reflected issues of peace and conflict in the country of Kenya and the continent of Africa more broadly.

Curriculum Design and Teaching in PCS Programs

My mapping of the PCS curricula is based on interviews with faculty and administrators at both institutions about their curriculum and my observations of classrooms and out-of-class community actions for peace. The aim of the peace curricula in general was to develop local knowledge, conflict mediation skills, values and desires within students to act for peace and justice. These aspects were reflected in different ways across the two institutions. In Figure 1, I provide the overall summary of the curriculum upon which the rest of the chapter will be organized.

Figure 3: Summary of PCS curricula design and teaching at both Universities



In the above figure, I show summaries of a theory of action that faculty employed in the design and teaching of PCS programs. While faculty at the two universities used

different terms and content in their teaching, there were key similarities in the overall curriculum design, pedagogy and objectives. I found that the majority of the faculty adopted critical pedagogies and utilized peace knowledge with the hope to develop conflict resolution skills, knowledge, consciousness, values and agency for peace and justice amongst students. Subsequently, students expressed that their engagements in PCS programs resulted in advanced skills in conflict management and generated in them a desire to take actions that support peacebuilding. By drawing on local knowledge, peace knowledge and critical pedagogies, faculty at both universities developed and implemented what they viewed as a context-relevant peace and conflict education curriculum that attempted to build transformative agency, skills and values for peace amongst students. The next sections discuss the various components relating to faculty perspectives of PCS curriculum, students' experiences of these programs and faculty teaching approaches based on classroom observations and out-reach initiatives.

Faculty Perspectives on the PCS curriculum Design and Content

Contextual legitimacy or relevance was a common theme that guided faculty in the design of the PCS curriculum in the two institutions. Faculty believed that for their programs to contribute to transformation, the curriculum content needed to reflect local context experiences, realities and understandings of peace and conflict. In particular, some faculty suggested a peace curriculum that was "local," or in other words, needed to include an "African" worldview to peace and conflict. Most of the faculty explained to me that conflict in Kenya may have similarities to some conflict in other regions, but generally it is unique, which makes it difficult to apply a universal conflict resolution mechanism. For these scholars, a local curriculum for peace in Kenya needed to consider

themes of colonialism, negative ethnicity relations and resources (particularly land) ownership.

In light of this thinking, faculty who were involved in the design of the PCS curriculum proposed mandatory coursework on *African Culture and Peacebuilding, African Philosophy, Land Conflict in Africa at Amani University and Traditional (African) Approaches to Peace and Reconciliation and Ethnicity and Armed Conflict* at Umoja University. In addition, at Amani University students were required to write final papers that mainly focused on a peacebuilding issue in Sub-Saharan Africa. This intentional focus on regional understandings of peace and conflict are issues that were not captured by international frameworks to peacebuilding. I provide two quotes below from some faculty to illustrate these perspectives.

> Dialogue and reconciliation are very much emphasized in the African culture and African approach to doing things. We go to our neighbor to discuss and talk about our issues and challenges, we don't spill it out there, in fact the courts of law are very recent but African approach has always been, talk, converse, address these issues and that's why the current approach for example, the ICC (in Kenya, or Sudan), has failed, because you see President Bashir from Sudan is on the warrant of arrest, if he comes to Kenya or South Africa, the court [ICC] asks that we arrest him. But, these guys have their own approach to these issues and they are going to tell you, 'well we can talk about it, we won't arrest this guy.' This is a different cultural approach of looking at things. Dialogue and reconciliation processes in Africa are the pillars to conflict management. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

> African cultures prioritize the relationship between an individual within the community, more than how the state apparatus might function to aid coexistence. Our first-year students go through a course of *African Culture in Peacebuilding*. Some of them will be hearing about these cultural values for the first time, even from their own ethnic groups. What helps us is the diverse groups, from ethnicity, nationality, age, gender. We always get a range of students, I mean, the oldest guy is 57, so he can retrace back on *cultural practices what happened after conflict awhile when he was a young boy and now 57* years later; and the young fellow who is 25-26 realize some cultural values that s/he needs to study. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

To advance local content and understandings in the PCS curricula in both institutions, faculty adapted universal peacebuilding frameworks into local examples. They also utilized local experts and resources as well as students' lived experiences in teaching and learning about peace and conflict. Faculty expressed that although there were partnerships with institutions and professionals in western countries, they designed peace curriculum that reflected local realities and experiences of participants. For example, the PCS program at Umoja University was provided through partnerships with a university in a European country. The external partners assisted by training some local faculty, providing sample curriculum designs and creating partnerships for exchange programs for some students. Faculty stated that they adopted some of the course materials that had been developed by universities abroad, but they tailored them to fit into what they considered essential within the contexts of Kenya and broadly in relation to Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, in a course titled *Ethics of War and Peace*, the instructor asserted:

> While it's important to teach RtP— Right to Protect", the United Nations' views on what elements constitute the right for another country to invade another during an internal or external war, it's also important to incorporate *cross-border conflict and resource conflict in Africa* so that students would reflect on the processes involved in national interventions for such conflict, such as the cases of Congo and Central Republic of Africa. (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016)

In the excerpt below, a faculty at Amani University expressed how the Peace Studies Institute at Amani University approached the PCS curriculum and described his teaching approaches. I have highlighted in italics sections that provide specific references to local knowledge.

> *We are also trying to get them [students] to reflect on the current situation, the contextual issues in Kenya and* within the continent. And we tell all our lecturers

> to do that. So, the class assignments are meant to give them [students] some *local application of what they have learnt.* For example, in my class "Ethics of War and Peacebuilding" they have to do the paper, in all their analysis, they have to look at *the African context; how do we apply some of these perspectives of Ethics of War and Peace Building in analyzing humanitarian intervention, ICC (International Criminal Court), whatever... into the African context*? And that really gives them the advantage of reflecting within their own situation. Number 2, the model that we use here is to get the student to reflect on the readings that they've received and engage with the *context*. We always begin our classes by review of the regions, just like perhaps within the U.S. too, when you read this text, what did it tell you *and then how is all this relevant to our context today*? (Faculty, Amani university, 2016)

The local knowledge application in peace curricula was further expressed by another faculty at Amani University who suggested that PCS courses could provide the space for reflections on region-based challenges to peace and conflict. He suggested:

> We are prone to believe that peace education is a matter of logistics. People believe it is all about setting up peace projects, systems, resources and managing system or just raising consciousness. That won't work! It is like poverty—billions of investments, no returns purely because of this mechanical thinking. Peace programs will follow suit if we don't realize we are not *teaching in a vacuum*. *These programs should give us space…and I hope everyone thinks that, to share minds about what is happening here (in Kenya) and the world. I recently attended a conference in Mali organized by CODESRIA* and much of it was a reflection on ethnic resurgence, leadership and governance. One must ask why our politics is ethnic? Why are educated people only voting for corrupt leaders? Our peace and justice programs are [considering] keen on some of these local dynamics of conflict. *Most of our alumni are working locally,* we can only do best to make sure they understand their environment and tasks awaiting them. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

In these interviews, faculty sought to 'localize' their program by infusing local examples and reflections. Faculty emphasized attention to local context, particularly the realization that faculty are not teaching in a vacuum, that they are equally affected by their own lived experiences and assumptions about peace and conflict and so are their students. Some faculty expressed that peacebuilding frameworks developed by their western colleagues did not fully capture the local language, conceptions, and dynamics of

conflict and peace. For example, later in the interview, this faculty suggested that much of the western frameworks to peace advocated for the need for democracy and strong institutional and legal processes to peace. And yet, some of the issues that shape conflict in Kenya were rooted at the relational levels, such as poor ethnic relations, which makes it hard for international judicial processes to solve national-level conflict. What is central to peace knowledge here is that peacebuilding models may be limited in capturing subtle issues at a micro-level such as ethnic relationships which participants find important for sustainable peace. It is important for individuals interested in peace education curriculum to reflect on other factors that shape conflict and what language can be used to capture the intricacies under play.

Another faculty cited the case of cattle rustling in Kenya among the Pokot and Turkana, pastoral communities[28] that were at conflict during the time of these studies, as an example of conflict that require local knowledge to examine and address. However, a faculty member at Amani University suggested that such practices are best solved by "understanding the origins of the practice, the traditions that sustain the practice and the networks of people benefiting from that practice" (Faculty, Amani University, 2016). According to this faculty member, students needed to understand cattle rustling as a locally-embedded process of a conflict with a pastoral community in order to imagine a locally viable approach to conflict mediation in such scenarios. These views were also shared by faculty (and the Chair) of the Peace Center at Umoja University, who

[28] Cattle rustling is the forceful raiding of livestock from one community by another using crude weapons and guns and destroying property and lives. The practice was originally viewed as an act of reciprocity amongst pastoralist groups to enable poor families to acquire livestock especially after prolonged droughts or epidemics (Cheserek, Omondi, & Odenyo, 2012).

suggested that training students in African cultures and peacebuilding can develop students' understanding of the practice of dialogue, reconciliation and reparation with the various traditional societies in Africa" (Faculty and Administrator, Umoja University, 2016).

The adaptation of the peace curriculum to fit local contexts was also practiced at Umoja University. I noted this in an interview with a faculty member who asserted that the Umoja University Peace Program was designed to reflect on salient issues of peace and conflict in Africa, such as "how to promote diversity across ethnic groups, develop leadership skills and peacebuilding in Africa" (Faculty, Umoja 2016). An interview with an alumnus of this program, who is now working for an international relief and humanitarian assistance organization, furthered this perspective. The student alumnus asserted that the Umoja program enabled him to learn about peace and conflict in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, he illustrated how the focus on local conflict prepared him for a career in the humanitarian field to support the recovery of individuals and societies that had faced conflict such as in Uganda. As he stated:

> In my second year, I took a class in Armed Conflict in East Africa and we explored different types of conflict mostly in Kenya and Uganda. We looked at the Lord's Resistance Army and the issues of child soldiers. I learned how difficult it can be to heal a society from war especially when children are involved. In my current role, I am using the knowledge I learned to assist in the repatriation of refugees and also support returnee combatants in the same country. I can say what I learned in school has helped me a lot in my work because I had knowledge of the conflict and the challenges that face people here in Gulu (Student Alumni, Umoja University, 2016).

The peace curriculum and classroom practice in both programs somewhat portrayed a homogeneous thinking about Africa and culture, which is problematic given the diversity of cultural negotiations within Africa and amongst people of African

descent. For example, a faculty member at Amani University suggested that "African cultures prioritize the relationship between an individual with the community, more than how the state apparatus might function to aid coexistence" (Faculty, Amani University, 2016). By presenting the cultural processes of African peoples as a unit, faculty limited their ability to explore the differing dynamics and interpretations of cultures that reproduce oppression. Thus, the faculty tended to highlight similarities even when there were clear differences regarding the national narrative of each African state and their intra- and inter-conflict and security dynamics (Khadiagala, 2006).

Despite the above limitations revealing that, in some cases, faculty seemed to create an impression of "an African culture" as a bounded and uninterrupted unit, their focus on how cultural processes relate to peace and conflict was fundamental in generating a proper conceptualization of conflict and peace in Kenya where perceived differences in culture constitute estranged relationships across ethnic groups. A first-year female student in a diploma course in peace and armed conflict shared this faculty view. She was working on a final project on gender-based violence in one of the local ethnic groups. She stated that in her interviews with married women in her community, they informed her about violence at home [domestic violence] that they reported to the local chiefs. Some women did not report this violence to the administrative units because of the culture of violence against women that had been normalized and interpreted as part of a cultural practice. In her reflection, the coursework on culture and violence enabled her to understand gender-based violence in her community and she wanted to write about it as way of "documenting experiences of women and creating awareness" (Student, Umoja University, 2016). I learned in later interviews that this student had been selected to

present this work in international forum outside of Kenya. This is one example of transformative actions that students were taking upon following their participation in a PCS program.

Cultural Immersions, Internships and Expert Mentorship

The second element of the PCS curricula at both universities was cultural immersions, internships and mentorships that aimed to augment the theoretical knowledge. Through partnerships with local institutions and communities, the PCS curriculum sought to develop practical experience, local knowledge and skills in conflict mediation. Faculty created community outreach programs where students studied issues affecting the local communities such as small arms proliferation in the pastoralist communities in Kenya. Students designed projects and worked directly in communities affected by conflict or with organizations that were doing work related to peace and conflict in SSA. For example, a group of PCS students from Amani University stayed one month in Pokot. These students worked on understanding the dynamics of cross-border conflict and selected to work with the Pokot and Turkana who were at that time the focus of national peacebuilding efforts. As one of the students informed me, one of the things that maintained the conflict was the free arms trade from Somalia which made the region highly securitized.

During their stay in the region, students learned that the two communities had demarcated neighborhoods and few interactions. The students organized what they called a ‘peace soccer match’ amongst youths from the Turkana and Pokot communities that had experienced armed conflict. The soccer match drew not only youth, but also adults and elders from the two communities and two members of parliament from the region. A

local media offered to televise the match. Faculty and students observed that such events created an opportunity for the communities to regain connections to the outside world. It also provided the starting point for conversations to promote mutual understanding amongst warring *moraan* (youth) and offered a chance for community members to redefine the values of interdependence and human interconnectivity.

Mentorship was mainly adopted in the Umoja University PCS program. Students were paired with mentors from a wide network of African and non-African scholars, policy developers, and experts involved in various activities that facilitate peace, security and development in Africa. This experience was considered essential to the program because, as one graduate noted, the relationship "provided opportunity to test my knowledge and skills and created a network of professionals I relied on when looking for placements after the training" (Student-Alumni, Umoja University, 2016). During this study, the Peace Studies Institute at Umoja University was running a guest speaker lecture series on ethnic prejudice, religious tolerance, conflict in Kenya and the role of non-governmental actors in peacebuilding that was open for faculty and students who were not enrolled in peace and conflict studies as their majors. During my visit, a regional expert working with an international peace agency in South Sudan was invited to lead a seminar for senior students. A similar program was also practiced at Amani University. In an interview, a faculty member, who also doubles as administrator at Amani University, asserted the following while responding to a question about the nature of the curriculum:

> It is a course (curriculum) that brings the practice into place; so, they would engage with speakers... people who have experience in peacebuilding work... for example this Saturday, they are going to have General Lazarus Sumbeiywo, who

> has been a big mediator for South Sudan case to this day. Sumbeiyo will be here on Saturday to just tell them... everything about mediation, the challenges they have faced, issues and all that. So that becomes quite a positive experience. Last week they (students) were at the Kenya National Human Rights Commission... just to engage with them and see what they do so that they see, oh! we've learnt human rights theories, we've learnt perspectives on human rights, challenges in human rights, we've looked at case studies, now we are seeing the national body that is conducting issues around human rights, research and advocacy and you know it really motivates them to see the relevance of all these. We do bring our practitioners, even from African Union, IGAD, from the Kenyan government, NGOs... to engage them in the practice out there to show them what is it like? (Faculty & Administrator, 2016)

The cultural immersions were mandatory components of the PCS programs with the aim of developing intercultural knowledge and conflict medication skills through students' engagement in communities affected by conflict mainly in Kenya. This part of the curriculum was marked by experiential learning where students documented a community's way of life and beliefs about conflict. Students were also supposed to implement a peacebuilding project during the immersion period. For example, at Amani University, students were tasked to develop what was called *a cultural peacebuilding project*. Students' developed strategies of engaging groups from different ethnic and cultural groups as in the case illustrated above. Working on actual problems that communities were facing was an important way to document the diverse knowledge about peace that work for different communities. In doing so, students build their knowledge about peace as they learned from community members and practitioners some practical aspects of peacebuilding.

This experiential and context focused learning created "a win-win situation" through which students learned through by executing a peace project, learning local approaches and knowledge about peace as well supporting communities to build sustainability mechanisms. This was well captured by an experience of a student who

participated in a peace project in fishing rights for communities on an island in Lake Victoria. He expressed that "the experience was a practical way to see how culture and conflict intersect" and that "the community benefited a lot because the youth reconciled" (Student, Amani University, 2016).

Developing Leadership Skills and Future Leaders

Developing leadership skills was a central component of both programs and related to faculty and national officials views of the need for good leadership as a sustainable approach to peace. At Umoja University, the founding director of PCS programs, whom I interviewed in this study, expressed that they saw the need to not only train future leaders but also respond to gender inequality in leadership. To meet the challenge in gender inequality of experts in the field of peace and conflict in East Africa, the Umoja University curriculum devoted a section to training young women in peace and conflict. Students who were selected in the peace and leadership program received scholarships and some participated in a study abroad program at a university in the United Kingdom. These students also participated in an attachment (field experience) with the government or other peacebuilding organization working in Africa. As earlier noted, the curriculum underscored training in organizational leadership, civic engagement and good governance because faculty believed that these skills were critical for peacebuilding. They located significant challenges to peace related to the leaders' ability to advance the ethics and values for peace. For example, the founding director of the peace studies program at Umoja University stated:

> To develop the potential of young African leaders, especially women to take responsibility for fostering peace, and shaping the agenda for Africa, students in the program come from a variety of backgrounds and when they graduate from the Fellowship program, they play a vital role in the transfer of knowledge in

> peace, security and development throughout Africa. (Faculty and Director, Umoja University, 2016)

The Amani University program focused on developing leadership skills amongst religious leaders, non-governmental organizations leaders, civil-society actors and youth group leaders. The short-term courses focused on developing the capacity of the various category of leaders to effect changes through grassroots initiatives of their organizations. I learned through a faculty member that this approach started after the post-election violence in 2007. These leaders were to support the healing and reconciliation in partnership with the Church. There was a particular focus on training youth group leaders from slums (peri-urban settlements in Nairobi) in conflict mediation, leadership and entrepreneurial skills. These youth group leaders, who ranged from ages 19 to 31 years, were selected by their youth groups as well as the religious institutions that they attended. The programs which lasted between three to six months were also offered on scholarship. The faculty director noted that the youth in urban areas were the most vulnerable and often misused by political leaders to commit political violence against their opponents. Some of the youth were involved in community projects such as leading garbage collection or distribution of water services. Youth who received the training were then expected to retrain other youth. This approach to leadership development created a network of young people who ultimately formed organization of young people for peace. This collective agency for peace is part of a critical pedagogy approach to peacebuilding. Major changes in a society require wider advocacy and actions. The PCS curricula in both institutions through their partnerships with communities developed a network of actors in leadership as well as conflict mediation skills which formed a collective initiative for peace and justice.

Developing Conflict Mediation Skills

Faculty at both institutions expressed that they hoped to develop values for peace, conflict mediation skills, critical thinking, consciousness and agency for peace and justice in their students. For them, PCS curriculum needed to offer the space for students to question beliefs and practices that create inequality and conflict, as well as take actions that liberate communities from cycles of conflict. At Umoja University, the director of the program expressed that their courses were oriented towards shaping *minds and hearts* for peacebuilding. A similar slogan was used at Amani University when a faculty stated that they were preparing the 'salt of the Earth', a biblical reference to people who bring positive changes in the society. While faculty did not mention "critical pedagogy" in their discussions, their focus on critical transformation, agency and consciousness through their course design and teaching constituted forms of critical pedagogy. Faculty did not see PCS courses as just social science courses but rather as spaces that they could use to develop the mindset for peace and build a generation of experts with skills and capacity to effect changes that would alleviate practices and conditions that foment conflict in the country and the region. Their views reflected an aim to achieve transformative agency, an essential component of critical pedagogy and critical peace education (Bajaj, 2008).

In my classroom observations and outreach events, I noticed that faculty teaching methods departed from lecture-based, teacher-centered methods that were common in other classes. Instead, faculty tended to use a mixture of teaching approaches that included written reflections on peace scenarios, group discussions and outreach activities to create critical thinking and skills about peace knowledge in peacebuilding. Faculty in

PCS at both universities viewed their roles as facilitators of learning. While the class activities differed from one faculty to another, there was congruence in their teaching approaches which sought to generate students' reflections and consciousness about their roles in peacebuilding as well as make them aware of the factors that entrenched conflict and violence. Faculty adopted interactive teaching methods such as case studies and involved students in complex analysis and application of such conflict cases to Sub-Saharan Africa. Many of the faculty expressed that tend to focus on developing students' communication, analytical, mediation and negotiation skills, aspects they considered essential for successful peacebuilding practitioners. These approaches, as I will illustrate in subsequent sections, generated agency among students and increased their consciousness and actions for peace. For example, in the following field notes I describe a classroom section at Amani University where the instructor adopted critical pedagogies through peace scenarios:

> The observation was in a diploma course in *conflict management and training.* I arrived early as I was worried about getting held up in the heavy traffic as this class was taking place in the evening from 6 pm-8 pm. The class started at 6:40 pm when Dr. Majancha arrived. In later discussion, I learned that He had another class in a nearby university that ended around 6 pm. The class had twenty-two students. Most of these were civil society actors, journalists, church leaders, individuals working in non-for-profit organizations, government officials and youth group leaders. As this was at the end of the semester students had already learned theories of conflict management and were now involved in handling scenarios of conflict mediation. The instructor had preselected students (participants), arranged them into four groups and assigned each group a conflict scenario. I joined one of the groups whose conflict scenario was a local community was at dispute with a county government over relocation of twenty-seven families for the purpose of setting up a sports stadium. The county officials argued that the facility would generate more revenue for the country while locals viewed their land as sacred and giving it up was equivalent to losing their identity. The group analyzed the scenario using these questions provided by the professor: How might you explore grievances of one or more of your conflict groups you have selected? 2. What models would help you understand perspectives and values of each group? 3. How else can you clarify any "moral differences" with

> other groups? The group appointed a leader and secretary to present their analysis. The instructor moved around in each of the four teams, listening in and asking questions. In my group he suggested, "How about we see those that are for the community and those that are for the government"? He then asked the group to use a conflict analysis model/tool to interview each other about why they took the stands. After about 20 minutes, the teams reported their findings and the professor asked students whom he referred to as *viongozi* (leaders) to ask questions and imagine what else they could have done. (Field Observation Notes, Amani University, 2016)

From the above field notes, I particularly focused on how Dr. Manjancha approached learners with respect by calling them *viongozi* (leaders). He also viewed his role as a facilitator in the shared construction of knowledge and skills for conflict transformation. I observed that students freely asked questions and expressed their views at any time of the class, unlike other classes which were mostly lecture-based. In a follow-up interview, Dr. Manjancha suggested that because majority of the class members are practitioners and professionals in various fields, the choice of participatory methodologies through case studies was intentional not only to draw on the learners' diverse knowledge and skills but also provide an avenue for them to reflect on their assumptions and lived experiences that related to the cases under consideration. He stated:

> Conflict mediation are skills developed through practice and not high academic theory. We do it through a problem-solving workshop-like model. This is where we mirror and present cases in the region, and students become "expert". Like I mentioned some of our students are very seasoned in their fields. In this class, my youngest student is 21 years and the oldest is 57 years. They all bring something to the table and collaborate to analyze problems at hand. We look at problems in the region and the county. One team is looking at South Sudan, others looking at Mau Forest conflict and some are even doing a case on *matatus* official standoff (public transport services) and city council officers. The conflict scenarios are real cases in this country. I try my best not to use actual places and names, but you can also tell that these are issues our students relate to clearly and I encourage [them to] make sense of these realities. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

In this interview, a faculty member illustrates that students' knowledge formed the critical part of the learning process. Students also reflected on their experiences and were invited to question their beliefs, norms and understanding of conflict and peace. Through engagement in actual peacebuilding cases, students learned the technical skills for conflict mediation but also increased their knowledge, consciousness and values for peace. A student shared:

> I am now aware of conflict, I can analyze conflict…I have also changed my thoughts on conflict in this country [Kenya]. It is not that simple as bananas or oranges[29]. I want to understand what factors are influencing say KNA supporters to fight PZU then do judgements. (Student, Umoja University, 2016)

Faculty also expressed that their choice of case studies was to develop analytical skills and empower students to take on peacebuilding challenges. These approaches to teaching about peace and conflict sought to generate what Bajaj (2008) refers to as 'transformative agency' and power for actions which are at the center of critical peace education principles.

A similar teaching approach was implemented at Umoja University through what the faculty referred to as peace scenarios. These are future-oriented teaching cases, scenarios, dilemmas and situations in which learners worked in group activities to plan for a conflict transformation initiative and imagine possible solutions and challenges. Students made specific choices about the most relevant interventions for peacebuilding while considering implications of their decision on the potential of sustainability of peace

[29] Bananas or Oranges is a specific metaphoric reference to political alignments in Kenya in early 2005, when the country was seeking to have a new constitution. Politicians were aligned between oranges as a symbol for those who opposed the new constitution and bananas for those who advocated for it. In the national referendum, people rejected the proposed constitution. Later new political formations were established along similar lines. For more information, see Andreassen and Tostensen (2006).

or a resurgence of conflict. The classrooms adopted a workshop style as students created roadmaps to peace based on their imagined futures and the scenario they were handling. For example, in a class I observed at Umoja University, a group of students examined how to end the civil war in South Sudan. At the time of the study, the African Union had appointed representatives to mediate the conflict. The civil war had taken an ethnic trajectory as most killings were along the Dinka and Nuer groups, who also happened to constitute the main government and the opposition. In the scenario, students were asked to take on the roles of negotiators. In the class, I observed as follows:

> The professor grouped students into three groups of seven. This time he did not give them a lot of prompts or guidance. He only asked each group to think about who the actors are, their levels of influence and what kinds of peace agreements they can propose. I joined one of the groups. One of the students in my group also happened to be from South Sudan. Students started by providing a background of the conflict and identified problems of ethnic differences between the Dinka and the Nuer. They also discussed the resource conflict over oil production and especially the utilization of oil as a natural resource and the way it matters for peace in South Sudan. The students proposed an inclusive government that considered all major leaders from all ethnic groups. They noted that other actors outside of South Sudan may be interested in the oil and use leaders to influence the continuation of the conflict to make it easy to extract the resources. (Class Observation Notes, Umoja University, 2016)

This peace scenario was one amongst many that featured historical and contemporary challenges to peace and conflict in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa. The choice of the themes was deliberate, as a faculty member later noted-- the learning about experiences of everyday violence and conflict was relevant for students to reflect real situations which affect contemporary society. She noted that such an approach was meant to turn "classrooms into common sites for imaginations of non-violent actions to peace" (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016).

A similar teaching approach was utilized by faculty at Amani University. I observed a third-year undergraduate class on *Ethnic Conflict in Africa* that explored ethnicity, violence and conflict in Africa. In the class, the professor had developed what he referred to as an '*ethnic conflict puzzle'* that the faculty had given the class. The ethnic puzzle looked similar to the peace scenario at Amani University. One of the puzzles was about land conflict and ethnic-based land ownership. The puzzle was about a group of individuals who had been evicted from a forest reserve which they had encroached as squatters. These group were homeless after running away from their ethnic land due to the ethnic clashes. Local communities that had housed these squatters were demanding their eviction not only due to the encroachment on the forest but because of the tussle over the charcoal business which the local community members relied on but which the squatters had taken over. Students handling this puzzle mapped out historical and social dynamics of the puzzle, identified actors related and provided a rationale for these actors' degree of influence when considering a conflict mediation. The team recommended the government to resettle the squatters and create an avenue to curb deforestation including a burn on charcoal trade. In the other group, students examined a mismanaged students' election at a local university. The group suggested the establishment of conflict arbitration committees and an inclusive student governance body that reflected the ethnic diversity of the student population. However, there was an even longer discussion in the group as some students questioned how to reconcile ethnic inclusion and democratic student election processes. Through these activities, groups developed charts that resembled a conflict stakeholder analysis. In follow-up discussion, faculty enlisted students' responses beyond the puzzle to reflect conflict at the national levels such as

electoral conflict management and ethnic inclusions and land challenges facing internally displaced persons.

The use of peace scenario at Amani University, case studies and puzzles at Umoja University were useful pedagogical approaches to critically examine historical and contemporary conflict without rejuvenating traumatic memories or creating a victim-perpetrator narrative. In Kenya, discussions of conflict, including references to current and recent conflicts such as the post-election violence in Kenya, were considered sensitive and political topics that individuals are not open to discuss because of the pending restorative justice for victims of past atrocities (Njogu, 2012). Furthermore, a major challenge of examining armed conflict is always the potential to reignite secondary trauma or in some cases revenge depending on how the narrative about the conflict is represented (Herman,1997; King 2012). A faculty at Amani University shared with me why he adopted peace scenarios in his classes when he suggested that:

> You know being real can be catastrophic to me and my students. Take the case of post-election violence, I can't tell if any of my student was a victim. I create scenarios that limit direct memories to the conflict but still give them the chance to critically analyze the conflict. (Faculty, Amani University, 2016)

By adopting peace scenarios and puzzles, faculty managed to create some distance and avoid direct references to conflict or actors or to ignite memories of past atrocities. In doing so, the classrooms became spaces where critical thinking was developed while reducing the real trauma that could occur due to the reminiscence of lost ones or victims of violence and their perpetrators. As faculty also had their ethnic identities, creating direct discussion of conflict in which teams identified perpetrators could in some cases perpetuate an ethnic perspective to the previous conflict and could

hinder an open-learning process. This was a critical application of local knowledge to develop a conflict-sensitive education.

During the class observations, I noted some challenges that faculty faced during the teaching. The first one related to the short amount of one hour per lessons made it difficult for students to fully explore the puzzles. This particular challenge was prevalent in Umoja University, where faculty had relatively larger numbers of students in each class ranging from 55-70. The puzzle activities required a longer time for students to reflect on the tasks and share their perspectives. In most cases, not all students managed to express their ideas, and it was also hard for the instructor to make follow-ups with each student group. An increase in time and allocation of graduate assistants (tutorial fellows) can further strengthen the interactive approaches that students found helpful in increasing their critical thinking skills and awareness of forms of conflict as well as enable them to identify their roles in generating positive change.

A second challenge related to the difficulty of discussing sensitive topics and political issues relating to ongoing conflict in the country and the university. For example, in a class at Umoja University, students raised issues relating to university governance, ethnic bias of faculty towards students that shared similar ethnic groups and ethnic favoritism in university process such as recruitment and hostel allocation for students in classes. However, the instructor tended to redirect the discussions to other topics. A faculty later stated that discussion of such issues could jeopardize their positions at the institution. She observed that in the past, faculty who extensively discussed such matters were deemed as using their classes for purposes of politicization and creating radical students and were often dismissed from their positions or denied

promotions. Without proper policies that protect academic freedoms, such faculty expressed that they could face discriminations relating to promotions or in some cases lose their employments. Such occurrences suggest the limitations of the politicization approach to the teaching of peace and conflict studies which aims to expose structural enablers of conflict. Despite this limitation, this teaching method was crucial in allowing students to apply peacebuilding theories into actions, raise their consciousness, and build their critical thinking skills and agency for peacebuilding.

Faculty believed that students diverse lived experiences and perspectives on peace and conflict are a critical component and resource for learning. A critical pedagogy approach to teaching generally views students not just as vessels where knowledge gets deposited, but as active agents in the co-construction of knowledge and meaningful learning experiences. For example, in the quote below, a faculty member talked to me about students' participation in classes, the knowledge they bring and how faculty engages them in the co-construction of knowledge about peace. He stated that:

> The challenge we've had obviously not only in Peace Studies but also in general in the academia in Africa, is that it has been very much western oriented. For you to do masters in Economics you'll have to study the economic theories of people you'll never even have known existed, you know; and then secondly is that a lot of these disciplines, Africans haven't published much... so we need to engage more and more through processes that help to contribute to that particular knowledge; and I think the third component that is also very critical is *how we get the students to be part of the story so that they are not just recipients of knowledge and when they come here we tell them... you are not going to bank it in your head... you'll have to contribute to that and we even encourage our lecturers that, you know... where articles are really good, why not encourage them to publish them and one or two lec*turers have been able to do that. It's a process whereby, through that critical analysis we are able to get students to think of alternative approaches. (Faculty Amani University, 2016)

In this illustration, the faculty member articulates the need to have students "as part of the story" so that they are not just there to be banked in formation. Lived

experiences of conflict and peace were central in the understanding of the factors and structures that drive conflict. This approach, according to faculty, enabled students to explore general conflict cycles but also locate their positionality and agency within the various stages of conflict. Wisler's (2010) research further supports the utilization of lived experiences of peace and conflict as an essential part that constitutes an intangible heritage of knowledge that can be utilized to sustain communities facing conflict. This attention to context and incorporation of learners' knowledge is an example of both peace knowledge and critical pedagogy, a teaching approach that was not common in non-PCS classes at both universities. Faculty and students in both university peace-related programs worked together to foster a form of transformation and actions that sought to change the challenging situations, which is a key principle in critical peace education.

Developing Linkages and Agency for Peace and Social justice

Agency for peace and social justice emerged as a major component that PCS at both universities aimed to develop. A common philosophical approach to teaching amongst most faculty at both institutions was that they viewed themselves not only as instructors, but change agents, or agents of peace. Through their teaching, most of the faculty hoped to not only generate increased awareness of the complexity of violence and conflict, but also agency amongst students to work towards peace and justice in the universities and wider communities. At Amani University, faculty and directors of PCS programs viewed these courses as critical to the development of advocacy for human rights, equity, and promotion of Christian values as a counter to corruption, culture of violence and poor ethnic relations. A faculty member at Amani University stated that their curriculum integrated theory and practice in preparing students "as change agents in war torn societies in Africa and around the world." Professors partnered with local actors working in peacebuilding as well as government institutions to place their students in positions where they were directly involved in dispute resolution in order to build their local knowledge of conflict but also gain a desire to promote peace and justice. For example, I attended a class where students were reflecting on one of the outreach events of a mediation trip in one of the urban slums that was facing tensions between public passenger-service motorists and residents:

> Students in the Peace and Justice program from Amani University visited Zinkowa* an urban slum area where the Amani University Peace center collaborated with local groups to offer support in conflict mediation and leadership training. Amani University PCS program also has a charity network that supports women groups, youth and men groups in enterprise development, civic action and peace. Zinkow faces challenges of substantial housing, poor drainage systems, and environmental challenges. The students were preselected by the course instructor to engage local youth leaders and the passenger vehicle

> owners' association (PVOS) in a public forum for conflict mediation. The latter group was complaining of insecurity and loss of business as the youth were fighting to control garbage dumping sites and parking areas. These youths collected fees from motorists and sold scrap materials. But the forceful demands of parking fees and control of garbage sites had heightened insecurity for the residence. The class was now reflecting on what they learned as an invited arbiter for the conflict. (Field Observation Notes, 2016)

The partnerships that Amani University had created in various communities were helpful in providing avenues for students to work on real-time issues and experience the outcome of their peacebuilding interventions, as was the case of the above incidence.

Students expressed that their participation in outreach events mediation activity raised their awareness of systemic challenges that young people face, such as youth unemployment, poor housing and other economic challenges within cities, and how such issues contributed to younger people's participation in violence. Peace studies students expressed that their programs generated in them "the desire to do something"—as *kufanya kitu kwa sababu ya Amani*. These desires for actions for peace denoted a shift in perspective, attitudes and behavior in regard to conflict and peace. In particular, students suggested that they experienced a transformation because they gained power, agency and knowledge of how to contribute to changing situations that maintain violence and conflict. For example, some youth directly participated in a mediation activity together with administrative units that sought to regulate fees for garbage collection paid to youth groups. Although the conflict mediation activity assisted to diffuse tensions and restore relationships that had been strained between business NOT s and the youth groups, the systemic issues that contributed to the conflict remained. The mediating group asserted that resolving such a conflict needed them to seek policy makers who could address the

root challenges of poverty and unemployment among young people. A student in the class observed:

> The informal nonacademic settings are good. It is a good environment to engage in processes of conflict mediation and opened my eyes to see issues behind the conflict, the root causes. Sometimes we blame youth, and wonder why they are violent, but we miss the point. The economy is making them behave that way. These urban youths have no jobs they lost dignity and need to survive. (Student, Amani University, 2016)

These students' characterization of their experiences portrays what Lederach (2007) characterizes as a positive change at the individual level, which is a crucial part of conflict transformation. The knowledge and agentic outcomes of the peace curriculum in part emanated from faculty prioritization of developing the "mind and heart" for peace (as was the case in Umoja University) and developing "the salt of the earth" (at Amani University). Faculty in both programs did not see these programs as just social science subjects, but as a space to explore and develop the works of conflict transformation and direct actions for peace. For these faculty, they viewed other academic programs in the social sciences and natural sciences as quite abstract and removed from the actions that were needed to support societal cohesion and wellbeing.

The engagement of students in communities affected by various conflict was an essential component of focusing on the 'local' challenges to peace and building students' local knowledge of the systemic, structural and cultural awareness issues that generate conflict. At Amani University, for example, students were connected with a non-governmental organization that partnered with KONA International, which works on gender-based violence and represents marginalized communities by offering free legal services on cases related to land. Through this organization, Amani University

participated in commission meetings handling cases related to land ownership. In each session, a student was allowed to take a position on alternate commissioner (without voting rights) but they participated in interrogating parties involved in the dispute.

A similar example of local engagements in peacebuilding from Umoja University was its relationship with the Kenya Agency on Election, a non-governmental organization that worked with Umoja University peace studies program. Students received training in electoral management and were deployed to assist election officials in providing civic education about elections. These students further assisted in electoral dispute resolution in communities and in their universities. As some of the students shared later, these experiences generated in them the desire to continue in similar works in the future. The outreach programs and partnerships were a critical process of generating linkages and partnerships for universities to support peacebuilding while students received first-hand mentorship by working with local experts. Moreover, the partnerships enabled PCS programs to remain relevant to local needs. In particular, faculty constantly adjusted their programs to accommodate and include current issues of conflict and peace which provide avenues for these programs to be practically useful in developing some strategies to solving ongoing conflict.

Although the hands-on approach to learning is not a preserve of the field of peace studies, the transformative outcomes of these practical experiences were noted by faculty and students. Students experienced increased awareness of challenges to peace and conflict and gained diverse skills they would need for peacebuilding. For example, one of the students at Umoja University expressed how he joined the PCS program and how his participation in the course had changed his career goals:

> I joined this course [PCS program] because I had low aggregate points. All along, I wanted to study Law at the University of Nairobi, but I would have needed to do that as a parallel student [self-sponsored, without a government scholarship]. The regular entry was at least 44 points out of 48 and I had 31 points. My Aunt advised me to study peace and justice because she thought I might end up studying law later. Now I think I am in the right place. In the last three I have learned a lot about this country and conflict in general. I had an internship in my home county working to support the environmental conservation projects that were started by the governor. I also helped form some peace clubs in my former secondary school which was selected as one of the model clubs by the ministry of education. I am now in my final year writing my project on the human wildlife conflict in Taita-Taveta. I took advantage of my time at home to interview some people whose crops were destroyed by elephants and the measures that have been done by the government. Looking back, I can say I now want to do this work, I am drawn to environmental conservation and peace. I want to see how I can support policies to address these issues. (Student, Umoja University, 2017)

Furthermore, through these partnerships with local communities, faculty exposed students to actual works of peace and social justice as in the examples of land disputes, environmental management or electoral management illustrated above. A similar view was shared to me by a student at Amani University who had trained as a journalist. However, through her classes in Peace and Armed Conflict, she was drawn to working with women and children who were victims of violence and conflict. She was drawn to this work after a three-month internship with a local organization that supported internally displaced persons. She stated, “I can see my reports and stories [at the NGO she was working at] bringing new hopes to the most vulnerable in a different way than when I was working journalist” (Student, Amani University, 2016).

Through practical engagements and community outreach PCS programs at both institutions extended beyond university classrooms to urban slums, to county government, to communities like the Pokot and Turkana and to roadside demonstrations for peace. In other words, teaching about peace and conflict was not aimed only at fostering critical thinking about the issues of violence and conflict around the world, but

it was also about enabling participants—students and educators—to use their capabilities as social agents and activists in order to disrupt causes and drivers of issues affecting the society. This aspect of the curriculum related to Critical Peace Education which seeks to raise learner's consciousness through questioning of ideologies, policies and structures normalize injustice and seeking to disrupt such structures (Bajaj, 2015; Galtung, 2015; Ndura-Ouédraogo, 2009). The adoption of peace scenarios, puzzles, cultural immersions and local knowledge experts attempted to build a critical peace education in both institutions. Although the critical pedagogies did not mainly result in long-term peacebuilding solutions, as some students in the seminars were frustrated by the minimal changes in structural inequalities and the culture of violence, the programs offered some spaces to imagine possibilities for peace.

Despite the above positive approaches, I observed that faculty faced multiple challenges and limitation in the application of local knowledge and critical pedagogy in the programs. First over-prioritization of the local culture in the curriculum and teaching did not sufficiently critique the cultural processes that sustain or drive conflict. Instead, they presented a romantic view of local knowledge without questioning the inequalities in the production of this knowledge. For example, lived experiences of war and conflict differ because of differences in identities to the conflict. Thus, narratives of war and peace may erase forms of truths and favor a master narrative that appeals to the victors or majority group. Davies (2005) noted that educators and educational curriculum that does not critically explore the multiple representations of a conflict and past atrocities can normalize violence against particular groups. In the case of this study, there were few moments when faculty and students reflected on how individuals' interpretations of

culture or conflict enabled particular forms of violence, such as gender and domestic violence or overall gender inequalities that are produced through normalization of violence against women and subsequent disfranchisement in key decision making in the society. This is an integral part of both local knowledge and critical pedagogy that the PCS class did not reflect upon. Similarly, cultural identities based on ethnicities can also be manipulated in ways that produce violence or marginalization of others, which makes it important to critique a positive view of cultural dynamics in a peace education curriculum.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated that faculty utilized local knowledge and critical pedagogy to develop knowledge, conflict analysis skills, values and agency amongst students and communities to work towards peace and justice. Faculty at both universities made deliberate choices regarding content and teaching methodologies to create what they perceived to be a locally relevant peace education curriculum. The local knowledge and content were developed through students lived experiences, structured cultural immersions and internships, carefully selected themes on conflict and peace in Kenya, East Africa and Africa, and utilization of 'local' experts. The 'local' focus aimed to make the curriculum responsive to the context-needs and attempted to develop skills that were needed to alleviate some of the challenges to peace. This included a focus on developing leadership skills, which was such a critical context-specific need. Studies suggest that majority of the intra-state conflict, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, related to the challenges of proposer leadership (Francis, 2008). In the same way, by focusing on building students' agency and attending to local realities in both programs, faculty approaches dovetailed with a critical peace education praxis (Bajaj, 2015).

The findings discussed in this chapter further revealed that the PCS programs curriculum at both universities had heavy emphasis on community outreach initiatives but little reflection on the university environment as an enabler of conflict. These programs did not integrate a reflection of how universities embed structural inequalities and how relationships amongst students on campus, through their political actions or lived experiences in the dormitories, reify and reproduce tensions. This was particularly striking to me given that faculty and students expressed that university contexts were

experiencing violence and negative ethnic relations. As illustrated in Chapter Four, at Umoja University students frequently resorted to violent means in dealing with their grievances with university management or amongst themselves. Negative ethnic relations, ethnic-based appointments and violent student elections are topics that faculty, administrators and students suggested were common in Kenyan higher education systems. Although these issues were not unique to university environments, a critical peace education approach would create the conditions for students and faculty to reflect on how such systemic challenges can be overcome. However, faculty experienced some difficulties because, as they noted, some professors that encouraged political and critical consciousness, especially regarding social challenges in universities, face challenges of promotions, while those aligned with the administration's demands or share an ethnic identity with top administrators gain "unmerited professional mobility" (Faculty, Umoja University, 2016). This portray the limitations of peace education curriculum and faculty teaching approaches in spearheading system-wide transformations in institutions where poor ethnic relationships and violence are embedded within the wider social fabric.

Despite the above limitations, the findings reveal the centrality of faculty, students and university-based peace education in fostering conflict transformation, when such programs reflect on local needs and utilize local resources and knowledge. Through PCS, faculty, students and community partners deeply reflected on the past, current and future situations and formed alternative forms of thinking and images of a better and peaceful society. These experiences resulted in new forms of socialization which included: increased consciousness and agency for social change, high sense of self-awareness and individual roles in peacebuilding. Moreover, participants expressed an

increased awareness of greater systemic issues affecting peace and security in the region. In the next chapter, I reflect on the role of universities and university-level actors in peacebuilding as well PCS programs as avenues for peace and sustainability.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

In this final chapter of the dissertation, I reflect on the problem of the study, discuss its practical significance and consider its theoretical implications for fields of Comparative Education and Peace Education. Likewise, I explore how this research advances scholarship on higher education and sustainability in Kenya and in other regions facing social tensions. I begin by providing an overview of the study and the research objectives. This is followed by an assessment of the key findings of the dissertation and a discussion of the contributions of the study. The final section of the chapter outlines and discusses trajectories for future research and concludes the dissertation.

Overview of the Problem of the Study and Key Findings

The second half of the twenty-first century has seen a decline in inter-state conflicts but an increase in the intra-state conflict: inter-ethnic clashes, religious-based conflict, post-election violence and state-sponsored violence (Aluoka, 2016; Bernado & Baranovich, 2014; Niens & Cairns, 2005; Sislin & Pearson, 2001). In the post-conflict phases, education systems are viewed as essential for the consolidation of peace, but they can also foment conflict. Within the literature on higher education and peacebuilding, some scholars argue that HEIs' roles in generating new knowledge and training of human capital are beneficial to national stability and peace (Collier et al., 2003; Furco, 2010; T. Smith & Whitchurch, 2002). Other scholars emphasize HEIs as mediators between the state and local communities (Lederach, 1997). At the same time, HEIs can drive conflict by ignoring social inequalities, granting unfair access, prioritizing particular forms of

knowledge or engaging in ethnic favoritism (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004, 2005). Studies on education and peacebuilding, especially in Africa, have examined the role of peace education programs in building values for peace mainly at the K-12 levels. The role of higher education institutions, particularly universities, in fomenting conflict or building peace is an area that has been understudied. This inquiry sought to help fill this gap in the literature on the intersection of higher education, peace and conflict as well as build understandings of peace within Africa.

In this research, I aimed to investigate the intersection of higher education and peacebuilding in Kenya. In particular, I wanted to analyze understandings of peace and how university-based peace and conflict studies programs are designed and implemented as avenues for peacebuilding in the country. In the last two decades, Kenya has experienced cycles of post-election violence, ethnic-based clashes and terrorism that have created tension and insecurity. Higher education institutions have also experienced violence and terrorist-related attacks (Gainer, 2015; MoEST, 2014). These incidences led to the formulation of sector-wide policies in peacebuilding. Peace education policies were established and universities were viewed as critical actors in the national question for stability (MoEST, 2014). This resulted in proliferation of PCS programs at Kenyan universities, some in partnership with other institutions abroad and non-governmental organizations. These programs are new in Africa, having originally started in Europe and the U.S. after World War II (G. Harris, 2010a; Montessorri, 1949; UNESCO, 1945). This history raises significant questions about the role of universities in peacebuilding and how the uptake and appropriation of university-based PCS programs in Africa might contribute to positive social change.

This study had three key objectives. First, it sought to examine the institutional and individual rationales for the engagement in PCS programs and how they relate to the national, regional and global efforts and debates in peacebuilding. Through this first objective, I also wanted to establish how participants viewed the roles of Kenyan universities in peacebuilding. Secondly, the study sought to explore how university administrators, faculty, students and national officials involved in matters of peace education conceptualize peace and how their perspectives related to the scholarly views on peace and conflict. Finally, I wanted to establish how faculty designed and taught PCS programs and how they viewed their actions in regard to peacebuilding. These objectives enabled me to examine the theoretical and practical perspectives on peace, the intersections of higher education, conflict and peacebuilding in Kenya and possibilities of university-based academic programs in fostering constructive social change in regions affected by conflict.

The study involved a year of fieldwork that examined two universities, Amani University and Umoja University, and their PCS programs. I interviewed university administrators, faculty, students and some national officials who were directly involved in matters of education and peacebuilding. A total of 63 interviews were conducted, and they were augmented with participant observation of student life on campus, observation of lessons in classrooms and participation in out-of-school events/community outreach initiatives. Moreover, I employed document analysis of national policy documents on peace education and syllabi of PCS programs to complement these other methods. The following paragraphs review key findings of the research.

The study yielded three major findings. First, participants viewed higher education institutions (universities) as critical actors in the consolidation of peace but also as institutions that foment conflict and reproduce ethnic inequality and tensions in Kenya. University administrators argued that their institutions foster amity and aligned institutional missions to involve peacebuilding. Amani University, a private religious institution, justified peacebuilding as an extension of its mission to promote peace, social justice and responsibility as mandated by its Christian values/principles while Umoja University, a public, secular institution, viewed peacebuilding as part of the institution's efforts to generate solutions to social challenges through research, teaching and service. I conclude that peace and conflict studies programs at both institutions constituted a long-term institutional strategy and approach to peacebuilding through training of experts in conflict mediation and developing a culture of peace and non-violence.

However, the study also suggests that both universities faced challenges in their efforts to institute peacebuilding. First, participants viewed universities as enablers of ethnic divisions and a culture of violence that needed to be addressed in order to generate meaningful efforts of peacebuilding through higher education. For example, ethnic-based appointments of university leaders, unmerited award of degrees and employment in universities as well as ethnic-based student grouping created disharmony and feelings of exclusion amongst students and faculty. Additionally, the high demand for university-level training shaped some students' interest in PCS programs because the lower GPA requirements for these programs makes them an easy gateway to attaining higher education. As a result, not all students were in PCS programs because of an interest in the field of peacebuilding. The study also found that the diminishing state-support for higher

education created tensions in universities between universities' aims for social responsibility versus institutional survival. Public universities needed to develop private or self-financing mechanisms, such as the introduction of market-driven courses which included programs in peace and conflict education. Despite these challenges, the proliferation of PCS programs in Kenyan universities revealed a national consciousness towards education and social change that marked the framing of peacebuilding within the core functions of contemporary university education processes in the country.

The second key finding had to do with how various participants (faculty, students, national officials and administrators) conceptualized peace. Participants understood peace as an outcome of the practice of *uwazi* (openness) and *undugu* (brotherhood), sustainable development, freedom from corruption, ethnic inclusivity and cohesiveness, absence of physical violence, leadership and dialogue and reconciliation. Some of these themes resonate with Galtung's (2012) ideas of negative and positive peace, such as the views on peace as the absence of physical violence and the absence of structural barriers to individual well-being. These participants' constructions of peace reflected their tacit knowledge, aspirations and lived experiences of conflict and peace that were particular to Kenya. For example, participants' perspectives of peace as ethnic cohesion and inclusivity related to the intricate role that ethnic identity played in the production of ethnic tensions, conflict and political violence in Kenya. Ethnic-based political alliances, ethnic ownership of institutions including universities, ethnic marginalization and nepotism permeated the social fabric of the nation and affected relationships at the personal and relational levels.

Study participants conceptualized peace as an outcome of ethnic cohesion and inclusivity as well as leadership that restores dialogue and reconciliation, economic empowerment, equity, and corrupt-free practices including fairness in electoral management. Additionally, peace was understood as an outcome of *undugu and uwazi*, primarily openness and value of human interdependence. These contexts or localized views on peace constituted a peace knowledge. Wisler (2010) defines peace knowledge as "a region's own way of knowing and living necessary for its own creation and sustainability of a culture of peace" (p. 15). Therefore, these two concepts reflect a people's knowledge about a way of life and practices that they believe matter in strengthening amity.

The third major finding of the study reveals that faculty made deliberate choices in curriculum design and teaching methods they believed could generate transformative agency amongst students. Faculty utilized peace knowledge and critical pedagogy to design PCS curricula and teaching methods that drew on local knowledge and resources to develop students' knowledge, skills and agency for peace and justice. Moreover, students' perspectives revealed transformative experiences in PCS programs. The majority of the students in both programs viewed their participation to have generated a desire to act for peace and justice, what they called *kufanya kitu kwa sababu ya Amani* [to do something for peace]. Some students noted that practical immersions enabled them to build practical skills and reflect on their attitudes and raised their consciousness on the complexity of conflict. These formations of new perspectives and awareness, I argue, illustrated the transformative element of a university learning experience and confirm the

critical role of university actors and programs in shaping actions and values for peace and sustainability.

Contribution of the Study

Implications to Peace Education Theory and Practice

The findings of this study contribute to scholarship on the understandings of peace and peacebuilding. The diverse views of peace as expressed by participants reveal a relational nature of peace. This can be conceptualized by paying attention to the lived experiences of conflict and peace as well as context-level factors that shape conflict and human relationships that differ from one region to another. This means that peace embodies universal principles and conditions for wellbeing and coexistence, but perspectives of its manifestation are mediated by individual lived-experiences of war and conflict, aspirations and context-level factors that shape human relationships. This relational aspect of peace illuminates the significance of the local dynamics to peacebuilding theory and practice. Similarly, this finding also affirms the significance of local experts and resources in international peacebuilding interventions, especially when such efforts draw on multiple practices that have succeeded in disparate localities. In the same way, educational policies, theories and curriculum should consider local knowledge about peace as a significant way of knowing that can positively inform and contribute towards sustainable peace. In particular, programs that seek to address a culture of violence, such as Peace Education, ought to reflect the language and needs of the local communities. In my advocacy for local understandings of peace and peacebuilding, I do not aim to create the dichotomy of the "local" as superior to externally-initiated approaches. However, as this study reveals, every conflict environment is complex, and

there are varieties of understandings of peace that lead to different theorizations and practices of peacebuilding.

Another crucial contribution that this study makes is towards the advancement of scholarship on higher education and peacebuilding in conflict or post-conflict societies. Findings from this research illustrate the promise of higher education as an avenue for peacebuilding, while also pointing out its limitations within the contemporary push for universities as sites for conflict transformation. The results reveal that formal peace education at the university level can have significant, positive impacts in regions affected by social tensions. In the context of Kenya, faculty in PCS created community-outreach initiatives that opened avenues for community partnerships with universities to work on projects that aimed at consolidating peace and social justice. Faculty at both institutions expanded PCS programs beyond the university environments, making some local communities (outreach centers) spaces for the practice and imagination of approaches to conflict mediation. This approach is particularly important because it provides possibilities for an educational context where learning outside of the classroom is rare and where resources for such experiences are very limited. This means that when well-structured, it is possible for universities to engage in community service for peacebuilding even in cash-strapped public universities and in countries like Kenya where this is not the educational norm.

The study findings demonstrate the centrality of critical pedagogies, peace knowledge and local knowledge in contemporary peace and conflict education programs. As both programs showed, drawing from regional experts and prioritizing the learning about cultural processes, ethnicity and identity conflict was found to be transformative by

some students. The positive student experience, particularly the development of a transformative agency for peace and cultural sensitivity to conflict, revealed the potential of peace education-related programs in developing cultural sensitivity and peace, when these programs consider the possibilities for cultural fusions and awareness for peacebuilders. Richmond (2013) asserts that local peace may be influenced by a formal peace accord or national political dynamics, but it is "designed locally and may buck national or international trends" (p. 767). The turn to local knowledge and peace knowledge within universities provided avenues for faculty to work with students, policy makers and community leaders to develop internal mechanisms meant to address conflict in ways that preserve the cultural norms and social cohesiveness.

This study also demonstrated that lived experiences of peace and conflict constitute an essential part of knowledge for peace and conflict curriculum. Students' knowledge of conflict and peace, as well as faculty and local experts' understandings and meanings of everyday experiences in peacebuilding curricula provided insights that generated a context-relevant knowledge about peace and conflict. The study builds scholarly work of Abu-Nimer (2001) and Wisler (2010) by providing further evidence that peoples' tacit knowledge, aspirations, lived experiences and understandings are important in peace studies curricula and peacebuilding interventions because they form the foundations for human coexistence. Thus, it is significant for peace educators and practitioners to pay attention to the local experiences that shape conflict and peace and utilize local knowledge in developing frameworks for sustainable peacebuilding.

Implications on Comparative Education

The findings of this study also have implications for the field of Comparative Education. The study demonstrates the significance of local ways of knowing as an important framework in the development of relevant theories and practices to Peace Education. The field of Comparative Education takes interest in how knowledge is produced and practiced and the centrality of local knowledge and practices in shaping the update of educational policies and global development initiatives (R. F. Arnove, Torres, & Franz, 2013; Crossley & Watson, 2003; Holmes & Crossley, 2004; Jungck & Kajornsin, 2003). However, as this study revealed, educators should be critical of the education policies and practices that they seek to promote in 'local' and 'global' contexts as such a reflection calls for paying attention to the context of studies and local voices. Moreover, the study provides evidence for local understandings of phenomena such as peace, an approach that can be explored to understand other complex concepts such as education quality, gender or diversity in education.

Additionally, comparative education scholars may be interested in how this study illuminates the role of university actors in peacebuilding through academic programs. Universities, faculty and administrators hold significant positions in shaping and producing identities and perspectives about peace and conflict. As this study revealed, critical pedagogy and experiential learning approaches by faculty can shape subjectivities, attitudes and agency amongst students. Higher education faculty and administrators must constantly reflect on the kinds of interactions, policies and practices that produce cohesion and work on ameliorating those that foster tension. For the sub-

field of international higher education, this study reveals that educational collaborations and partnerships should seek to advance diversity in knowledge production.

This study provides evidence of the promise of the Comparative Case Study approach as a methodological framework in studies in comparative and international education (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, 2017; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009). The CCS enables multiple levels of analysis and comparisons to elucidate relationships at the "macro, meso, and micro levels, or scales" as a means of stretching the 'bounded' case to include the horizontal, vertical and transversal levels (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 131). Bartlett and Vavrus' revealed that sites of study are not autonomous because they are influenced by actions far beyond the "local context and current moments" (p. 13); Furthermore, they rejected a traditional notion of context as autonomous arguing that context is influenced by various actors and events over time, "in different locations and at different scales" (p. 19). For example, the framework enabled me to examine the two universities and their PCS programs (at the horizontal level) and make a vertical comparison of meanings of peace among national actors, faculty, administrators, students and scholarly perspectives in the literature. Similarly, the transversal element was critical in tracing the social and political process that has shaped the field of peace and conflict studies globally, particularly its emergence in Africa and Kenya.

Implications on Education, Peace and Sustainability in Kenya

The study reveals the impact of poor leadership and negative ethnic relationships in higher education practices and subsequent challenges to both learning and peace. It also suggests possibilities for Kenyan universities to generate positive change amongst young people and in communities facing social tensions. The research finds that the quest

for ethnic-based leadership in universities, ethnic-based student political alliances and cycles of violence have profound effects on the quality of education and social cohesion. This study adds to the work of other scholars who have identified the challenges of ethnicity and violence in Kenyan universities. A study by Munene (2012) showed that some Kenyan universities have over 80% of students and staff from one ethnic group, and staff and students from other communities feel isolated, especially with the increased use of local ethnic languages within these institutions. In the same way, this study found that student riots against leadership from specific tribes were mostly instigated by staff members and local community leaders who are against some ethnic groups taking key administrative position. It is essential for Kenyan university leaders and national education officials to seek policies and programs that address ethnic-based practices in universities and all learning institutions.

In Kenya, like other countries, universities constitute the largest spaces for the formation of future leaders as well as the development of a conscious citizenry. They act as middle-level actors that relate both to top-level actors directly through policy making processes and also to the local communities (Lederach, 1997; Julian, 2017). There is a need for broader efforts to create faculty and students' collective approach towards social justice in an environment where educational spaces (universities) are viewed critically as institutions that also reflect and reproduce social injustice and inequality.

Future Directions for Research

In this section, I reflect further on the study's design and findings to propose some avenues for further research on understanding of the phenomenon of peace, the role of higher education in peacebuilding and approaches to peace and conflict studies programs

for conflict transformation. First, there is a need for further studies that interrogate regional ways of knowing about peace. As this study was limited to university-level actors in the peace and conflict programs, future studies can expand on the participants to include individuals outside of the academy, such as civil servants, young people in non-education settings, security officials, and farmers in rural settings. This can be designed to include multi-country studies on understandings of peace and conflict while engaging a wide array of participants to generate greater understanding of peace as well as enable comparisons at various levels.

Moreover, further studies can explore indigenous approaches to peace and peacebuilding, which this work did not examine. These studies can help generate a knowledge base on understandings of peace and peacebuilding practices that can be utilized to formulate context relevant peacebuilding models. Similarly, there is little knowledge on how to integrate local understandings of peace in educational curriculum and peace agreements. As this study reveals, universal theories and practices about peace inadequately account for micro-level dynamics of conflict and lived experiences of peace and conflict. Further research can explore how international peace programs and peace agreements can integrate appropriate universal principles of peace and conflict as well as integrate local knowledge in theories, policies and practice.

Secondly, a multi-country study on how higher education institutions engage in peacebuilding can generate additional insights into various university-level strategies and actions that are employed for the purposes of restoring peace. Although this study revealed the significance of PCS as a means for conflict transformation and the role of higher education in peacebuilding in Kenya, the scope of the study was limited to two

universities in Kenya due to funding limitations and the doctoral education timeframes. Several countries in Africa, such as South Sudan, Mali, Burundi and others outside of Africa, such as Colombia and the Philippines, have experienced recent civil unrest. Countries emerging out of conflict always look to educational institutions as part of a post-conflict resolution process (Davies, 2004). Yet, in places where educational access constitutes part of the conflict, how these institutions reform and reconstitute after conflict matters. In Africa, newly independent states such as South Sudan would be very good cases to examine how higher education institutions contribute to the process of a new state. I aim to further this research by examining the regional efforts of universities in peacebuilding in Africa.

Finally, there is a need for a longitudinal study that maps students' trajectories, perspectives, identities and actions following their experiences in PCS programs. This study showed that students perceived their experiences in PCS to have contributed to their agency and consciousness to promote peace and justice. A longitudinal study can reveal changes over time in regard to students' attitudes, behavior, relationships or actions following exposure to peace education related courses. I hope that such a longitudinal study can generate insights into areas of focus in a peace education curriculum that have a significant effect on building a sustainable culture of peace and justice.

Conclusion

This dissertation, a comparative case study of two university peace and conflict studies programs, sought to convey faculty, students', administrators' and national officials' conceptions of peace and how higher education institutions govern (dis/enable)

and (re) produce practices and identities in relation to peace and conflict. I attempted to illustrate their views on peace and how universities engage in conflict transformation processes while also highlighting the ways that such institutions foment conflict in an African context.

The study revealed that there exists diversity in conceptions of peace and approaches to peacebuilding. The plurality in meanings of peace and the multiplicity of approaches to peacebuilding is often lost when peace is described as negative peace or positive peace or as liberal peace (which views peace as an outcome of free-market economies and democratizations processes). This study added to research showing that definitions of peace need to be comprehensive to capture the complexity and multidimensional aspects of peace and conflict, as well as be inclusive and contextually relevant. Constructions of peace need to capture people's tacit knowledge, lived experiences of peace and conflict, philosophy and aspirations of peace. In other words, it needs to convey their peace knowledge. Peace educators and policymakers ought to be deliberate in integrating local knowledge and aspirations for peace in their education curriculum and policies.

The findings of this dissertation suggest benefits and limitations of universities and university-based PCS programs as avenues for conflict transformation. On the one hand, findings reveal that higher education institutions are crucial in building knowledge and skills for peace. On the other hand, as social institutions, universities are a microcosm of the society and are, therefore, implicated in the production of practices that foment conflict. In particular, profound structural challenges affect the extent to which

academic programs can foster change, because universities are affected by wider forces and practices from within and outside of the institutions.

In Kenya, the role of university-level peace and conflict programs in peacebuilding is hindered by competing institutional and individual goals for these programs. Some institutions used these programs for economic gains, while some students viewed them as an easier route to the acquisition of higher education certification. I conclude that for universities to foster constructive social change and peacebuilding, university administrators and national education officials need to consider how socio-political practices limit peace and how their institutions might initiate practices and policies that could mitigate violence and conflict as well as promote social justice. In Kenya, higher education institutions can contribute to sustainable peace by addressing fraught ethnic relations, violence and inequalities that these institutions reproduce. Similarly, great efforts are needed to develop critical approaches to peace and conflict education in Kenyan universities and across the Kenyan education system.

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